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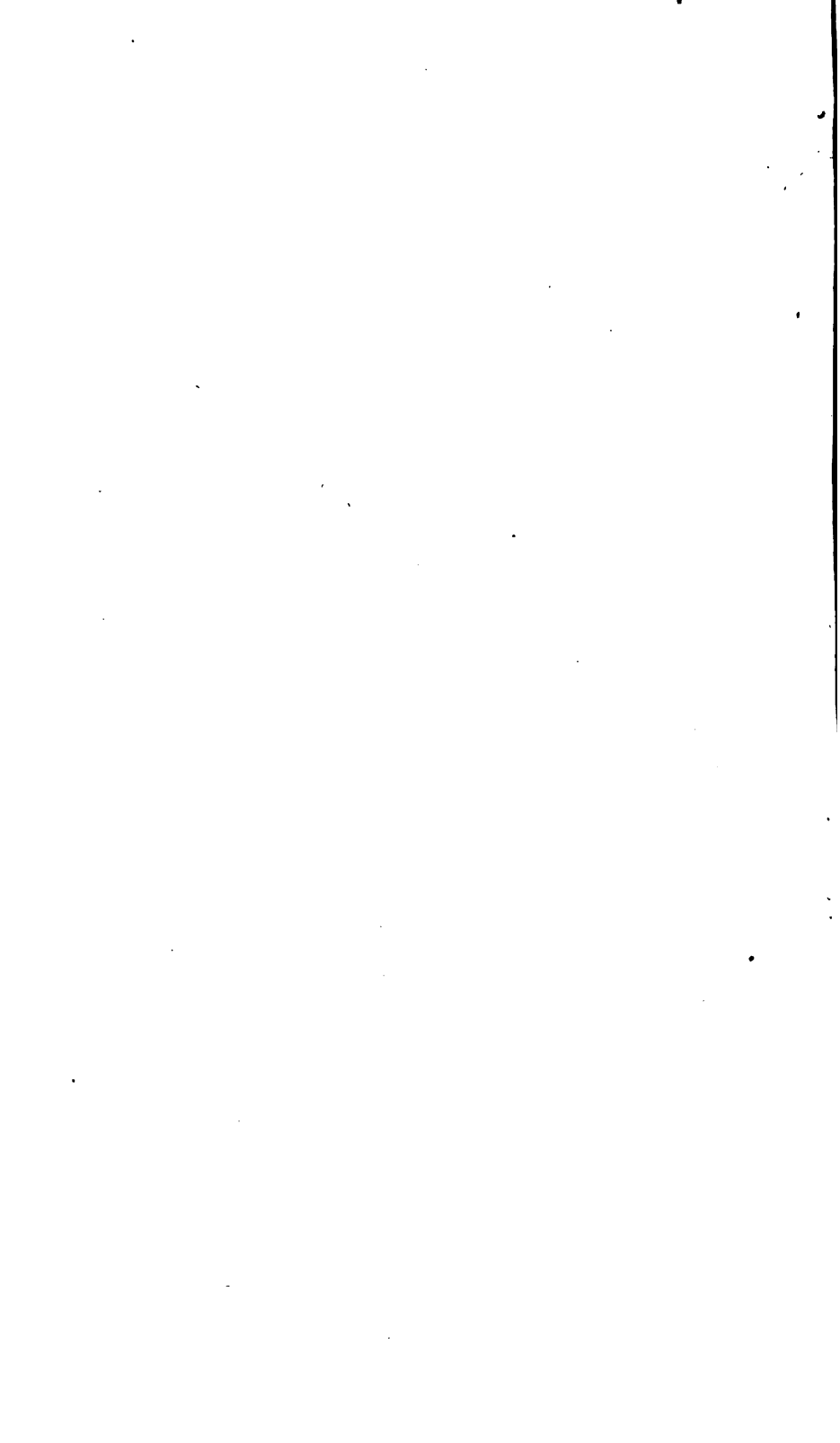
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# ARGUMENTS

AND

## FACTS

DEMONSTRATING

THAT THE

## LETTERS OF JUNIUS

WERE WRITTEN BY

JOHN LEWIS DE LOLME, LL.D. ADVOCATE.

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL OF TWO HUNDRED IN THE REPUBLIC OF GENEVA:

—AUTHOR OF THE ESSAY ON THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION:—A PARALLEL  
BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND SWEDISH GOVERNMENTS:—THE BRITISH  
EMPIRE IN EUROPE, &c. &c.

ACCOMPANIED WITH

## MEMOIRS

OF THAT

“MOST INGENIOUS FOREIGNER.”

(VIDE PREFACE OF JUNIUS.)

---

BY

THOMAS BUSBY, MUS. DOCT.

AUTHOR OF A TRANSLATION OF LUCRETIUS.

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London :

PRINTED FOR SHERWOOD, NEELY AND JONES, PATERNOSTER-  
ROW; AND J. RIDGEWAY, PICCADILLY.

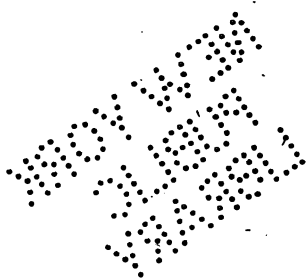
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ASTOR, LENOX AND  
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.  
1905



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DEATH OF A PRINTER WHO KNEW "JUNIOUS."—The Pendleton (S. C.) Messenger, in a sketch of the "Old Stone Meeting-house" in that town, after speaking of several celebrities buried in the graveyard, says : "Beneath a cluster of cedars repose all that is mortal of John Miller, printer. We lingered long by his grave, for his eventful life afforded us food for meditation. If we could have seen and conversed with his descendants, who live in this vicinity, we could have gained a fuller sketch of him. Mr. Miller was the oldest printer in the State. For the publication of Junius letters—the author of those papers he well knew—he was expelled from England. He came to South Carolina ; probably worked for a while in the office of the first paper published in this State, at Charleston, and thence removed to Pendleton, using the press which Gen. Greene had in his campaign ; he did job work until he commenced the publication of the Pendleton Messenger—the second paper established in this State. The world has speculated much as to the authorship of Junius, but John Miller carried the secret to his grave at the 'Old Stone Meeting-house,' and has left no information as to the name of the author."	Letters of Similies of ..... 44 rities in the ..... 60 ties in the me ..... 84 an Anony- ..... 111 pting entire ..... 140 ning Chro- nicle. De Lolme identified with Junius, by two other Publications ..... 162
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Waukegan, the "Port Huron and  
and Traverse Bay" railroad. In the undermentioned town-  
ships, which have not been in virtue of said grant, or  
reserved for any purpose whatever, and which were subject to public  
entry at the date of withdrawal, will be restored to private enter-  
the days, and at the places hereinafter specified, at the ordinary  
mum of \$1 25 per acre, or at the prices to which they may be  
graduated at the date of withdrawal.

At the land office at KALAMAZOO, on Monday, the *eleventh day of April*  
next, viz:

*South of the base line and west of the principal meridian.*

Townships 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8, of range 5.

At the land office at DETROIT, on Monday, the *eleventh day of April*  
next, viz:

*South of the base line and west of the principal meridian.*

Townships 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9, of range 1.

Townships 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, of range 2.

Townships 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, and 9, of range 3.

Townships 6, 7, 8, and 9, of range 4.

*South of the base line and east of the principal meridian.*

Townships 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9, of range 1.

*North of the base line and west of the principal meridian.*

Townships 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, and 35, of range 2.

*North of the base line and east of the principal meridian.*

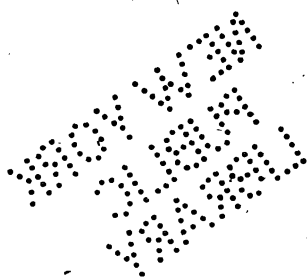
Townships 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, of range 1.

Townships 4 and 5, of ranges 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11.

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## PREFACE.

"WHO was Junius?" has, from the first appearance of his Letters, been asked with equal avidity by all parties in England, Ireland, Scotland, and America. To the protraction of the mystery in which the subject has hitherto been so completely involved, an interest has succeeded proportionate to the high merit of the philippics, the importance of their matter, and the extraordinary *dexterity* with which the author evaded discovery. The restless resentment of government, and the growing admiration of the people, conspired to sharpen the search after the author, and to increase the difficulty of his concealment. Yet, though not always free from alarm,\* he uniformly baffled pursuit, and repaid all its labours with tantalizing disappointment. His admirers could not find a sensible object to honour with their applause, nor did his enemies know towards whom to launch the bolt of their revenge.†

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\* See No. 41 of the *Private Notes to Woodfall*, in G. Woodfall's *Junius*.

† I learn from indubitable authority, that the ministry hired an apartment opposite Mr. H. S. Woodfall's premises, at the windows of which some person was constantly stationed, to notice every one who came to that printer. The search after JUNIUS was indefatigable and incessant. It must have been not a little encouraged by the inadvertency of Mr. H. S. Woodfall, in inserting in his *Notices to Correspondents*, (July 18, 1769,) the following answer to a request of Junius, concerning Newbury's recent edition of his





five anonymous publications, all of which associate De Lolme with Junius, while one of them (a pamphlet) proves itself to be an original piece,\* of which the celebrated letter to the King (the thirty-fifth) is only a partial though polished copy.† From these very scarce productions, the "History of the Flagellants," "JUNIUS'S LETTERS," exclusively so called, his "Miscellaneous Letters," his "Private Communications to Mr. Wilkes," and "Notes to Mr. H. S. Woodfall," such quotations have been made as were deemed necessary for the purposes of general comparison, circumstantial inference, and literal illustration.

Facts and arguments which, many months since, would have appeared, had not events occurred too important to permit attention to inferior objects, are now submitted to the Public. In ushering these to my readers, I make one request (my only one) that they will fairly examine, and duly weigh, the whole body of the evidence adduced, before they pronounce upon its validity.

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\* It is a curious fact, that the portions of this pamphlet not transposed into the Letter addressed to the King in the **PUBLIC ADVERTISER**, formed the principal topics and language of another Letter, addressed to the same **GREAT PERSONAGE**, (and on the same day) in the **MORNING CHRONICLE**.

† This composition will be found in its proper place, printed collaterally with the improved transcript.

Take as found

respectfully to as  
bringing you the  
Hudson River



# DE LOLME JUNIUS.

## CHAPTER I.

### *Information concerning De Lolme.*

ALMOST all the contemporaries of De Lolme are dead : and the few who remain, know so little concerning him, that I have only been able to add to the biography prefixed to Dr. Coote's edition of the *ESSAY*, some circumstances disclosed by such of the works of DE LOLME as I have succeeded in procuring, and a few, but interesting particulars, communicated to me by my own personal friends, and individuals to whom they referred me.\*

John Lewis De Lolme, LL. D. was a native of Geneva. Dr. Coote informs us, that he was born about the year 1745 ; but this is a little erroneous : for in the *Advertisement* prefixed to his first and most valuable production, DE LOLME says, " I was twenty-seven years old when I first came to this country : after being in it only a year, I began to write my work, which I published about nine months afterwards." According to this, he was nearly twenty-nine when it first appeared ; which, were Dr. C. correct, would bring the year of its publication

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\* Sir Richard Phillips ; Dr. Wolcot ; Mr. D'Israeli ; Mr. Planta, of the British Museum ; Mr. Harris, of the Royal Institution ; Mr. David Williams, of the Literary Fund ; Mr. Stoddart, who painted De Lolme's portrait, prefixed to the fourth English edition of his *ESSAY* ; Mr. Heath, who engraved it ; Mr. Egerton, Charing Cross ; Mr. Murray, Albemarle Street ; Mr. Ridgeway, Piccadilly ; Mr. Walker, Senior, Paternoster Row ; Mr. Nichols, Proprietor of the *GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE* ; Mr. Sidney, the Printer of this Volume ; Mr. Strafford, Holborn Hill ; Mr. Ward, Old Bailey ; and Mr. Charles Spilsbury, the only surviving son of the late Mr. Thomas Spilsbury, who printed the first and second English editions of De Lolme's principal work, and the first edition of his " *History of the Flagellants.*"

down to 1774. But the Essay was first given to the world in *French*, in 1770, and five years more elapsed before the Author published his *English* translation. This translation, therefore, if De Lolme was born about 1745, could not be extant, even in manuscript, till some years after 1774. But the Preface to the genuine edition of the **LETTERS** of JUNIUS, printed in 1772, by presenting passages from DE LOLME's translation, contradicts his biographer's assertion; and proves that his birth was considerably anterior to 1745.

If what de Lolme himself says respecting his age, when he first arrived in England, be accurate,\* I have reasons for concluding, that he was born as early as the year 1734 or 1735; which period, (besides the time he might have previously devoted abroad to the study of our language,) would allow five or six years for the acquisition of that general mastery in the English idiom, displayed in the *first* of the **MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS** of JUNIUS.

The Disquisition, (in *French*,) on our Constitution, was succeeded by the following works:

"A Parallel between the English Constitution, and the former Government of Sweden. By J.L. D.L. LL.D." (Quarto, 1772.)

"The History of the Flagellants. By Somebody, who is not a Doctor of the Sorbonne."† (Quarto, not dated, but known to be published about 1778, Walker.)

\* On the truth of De Lolme's assertions, however, (as I shall again have occasion to remark,) we cannot always depend. In a note to his *Essay*, (p. 377,) given in illustration of the impartiality with which the laws of England are administered, he says, "A little after I came to England for the first time, an action was brought in a Court of Justice against a Prince, very nearly related to the Crown." By these words it would appear, (since the late Duke of Cumberland's trial, to which he alludes, took place in 1770,) that his first visit was about the latter end of 1769. But it was more than two years after De Lolme's first arrival in England, that his *Essay* was published, in *French*, and some years again subsequent to that, that the translation was produced, quotations from which translation were given, by JUNIUS, in manuscript, to the late Mr. Woodfall, as early as November, 1771.

† In the Gentleman's Magazine, for the year 1784, p. 37, we find the following notice of the author of this work.

"The present historian is M. De Lolme, that free-born Citizen of Geneva, who has so lately discussed the Constitution of England, and is so well acquainted with our language, that this book would hardly be thought the composition of a foreigner.

"*Examen Philosophique et Politique, des Loix relatives aux Mariage, Repudiation, Divorce, et Separation. Par un Citoyen de Monde.*" (No date.)

"A Prefatory Introduction to a New Edition of De Foe's History of the Union of Scotland with England."\* (Quarto, 1786, Stockdale)

"The British Empire in Europe, in Three Parts." (Quarto, 1787, White.)

"Observations on the National Embarrassments." (Octavo, 1789, Debrett.)

"Thoughts on the Window Tax" (No date.)

"Thoughts on the Shop Tax, and the Imposts upon Hawkers and Pedlars." (No date.)

He also, Dr. Coote informs us, sent some Letters to the Newspapers, "Particularly," says the learned Doctor, "we remember a very ingenious paper on the question, 'Whether the Impeachment of Mr. Hastings abated by a dissolution of Parliament?'"†

\* By the following Advertisement, prefixed by Stockdale to this edition of De Foe's History, it appears that he had promised the public a larger contribution from the pen of De Lolme than was supplied by that writer.

"The Publisher is extremely sorry that he should have promised what he is unable to fulfil. Mr. De Lolme having engaged to furnish an historical discourse, in respect to the various attempts that have been made to unite Ireland to England, with the probable consequences of such a measure, the Publisher presumed to think, that a Treatise, by such a writer, would form a proper appendage to *The History of the Union of Scotland with England*: but the unfortunate indisposition of that able Author has disappointed his reasonable hopes of gratifying his numerous customers and the public. The very respectable noblemen and gentlemen, who previously patronized this work, having become impatient for their books, determined him no longer to delay a publication which had been so often asked for: and he humbly hopes, that the copious and interesting *LIFE OF DE FOE*, which is now annexed, contrary to his original design, will, in some measure, compensate the want of Mr. De Lolme's discourse."

† This latter circumstance only establishes the fact, that De Lolme was accustomed to send contributions to the newspapers: but in the following note we have his own confession, that he was very early in the habit of transplanting from his *ESSAY* to the *Public Advertiser*, his ideas, and even his expressions.

"Several of the *ideas*, and even *expressions*, contained in this chapter, made their appearance in the *Public Advertiser* about the time I was preparing the first edition: I sent them myself to that newspaper, under the signature of *Advena*." (See *ESSAY*, page 325, 4th edit.)

The title page of De Lolme's *Essay* announces him an "Advocate" and "Member of the Council of Two Hundred, in the Republic of Geneva." Of course, he had received not only a liberal, but a *legal* education. This would naturally open to the view of a mind expansive as his, the larger theatre of the world, for the further cultivation, and wider display of his talents; and would direct his attention to the constitutions, laws, and customs, of more powerful states than his own. His opportunities of observing the ruling principle of legal practice, "the indiscriminate defence of right and wrong," soon relaxed his original attachment to the law, and confirmed his determination to quit a profession which, as he conceived, he could not continue to exercise, and preserve his integrity. His resolution taken, he came to England a literary adventurer.

The revolution with which the recent commotions in his own country had terminated, had opened to his enlarged comprehension the principal *arcana* of national politics, and fitted him for the great undertaking in which he now engaged. Free from party prejudices, standing as it were aloof from us all, regarding with an unbiassed eye the great machine of our internal policy, its secret springs, and complicated movements, he was enabled to present us with a faithful picture of our greatness and felicity as a free people.

The *Essay on the English Constitution*, the production of a young foreigner, who, during the *first twenty-one months* of his abode among us, not only passed through the preparatory research, but accomplished the undertaking, announces a mind capable of coping with our most learned lawyers, and profoundest politicians, on the subject of our internal polity.

Such a man, admiring to enthusiasm the excellences of our Constitution, and charmed with the free spirit of the people, to a degree that rendered him supremely ambitious of the semblance of a *British* writer, would burn to expose the encroachments of a corrupt ministry; and find in the prospective gratification, the strongest incentive to a finished acquirement of our language.

His *Essay*, it appears, was favourably received on the continent, and highly approved in England by all parties. This

honour, however, did not secure him from subsequent inconveniences. The sale was not sufficient to remunerate his expenses. Influenced by the hope of a quicker circulation of an edition in *English*, he produced one ; but without calculating upon the difficulty of getting it through the press. The consequence was, the necessity of resorting to a *subscription*, which plan, however, did not succeed. The booksellers, one and all, declined printing it on their own accounts, and the translation, though ready for the press in 1771, remained unpublished till 1775, when it appeared, unaccompanied by the names of any subscribers, and, as the author feelingly expresses it in his **ADVERTISEMENT**, prefixed to the work, *not without being followed by difficulties*.

His fate, we find, was not happier than that of too many whose labours have delighted and illumined the world. He was extolled and neglected ; loaded with commendation, and consigned to poverty. Disappointed of the reward so fairly, so honourably earned, his great spirit scorned inferior remuneration, and (as will be made evident) found *redress*. Shrouded in darkness, he securely indulged his exasperated feelings. His satire was of a cast not more elucidative of the characters he attacked, than declaratory of his own native talents and constitutional disposition. Ingenious, subtle, secret, and inveterate, he inscribed with a poisoned pen ; his ink was venom, and his venom was fatal.

Where and when John Lewis De Lolme received the degree of Doctor-in-Laws is not known : but it must have been previous to 1772, the year of the publication of his "Parallel on the English and Swedish Constitutions," because that work professes itself to be written by J.L. D.L. LL.D. It is, by the way, remarkable, that no edition of his *Essay*, not even the last edited by himself, (in 1784) bears the doctoral initials. However, if that fact sanctions a doubt of the legitimacy of his title, we may the less scrupulously admit it, since his rank in literature was too high to suffer from the want of academical honours. He was an elegant scholar, well versed in general science ; and the profoundest politician of his time. Considering the purpose for which this publication is brought forward,

it will be less suspicious, perhaps, if I give the main traits of his character, in the words of his respectable biographer.

"His perception," says Dr. Coote, "was acute, and his mind, vigorous. Not content with a hasty or superficial observation of the characters of men, and the affairs of states, he examined them with a philosophic spirit and a discerning eye. He could ably speculate on the different modes of government, develop the disguised views of princes and ministers, and detect the arts and intrigues of demagogues, and pseudo patriots."—"He had the art of pleasing in conversation, possessed a talent for pleasantry and humour; and has been compared to *Burke*, for the variety of his allusions, and the felicity of his illustrations. His general temper has been praised; but his spirit was considered by many as too high for his fortune;\* yet, in one respect, his mind assimilated to the occasional penury under which he laboured; for in his mode of living, he could imitate the temperance and self-denial of a philosopher."—

So far Dr. Coote. These liberal, but just testimonies to his merits, will not be a little corroborated by our recollection, that both Lord Chatham and Lord Camden made, in parliament, the most honourable mention of his first and great work.

From the same source to which we owe some of the particulars already related of this extraordinary genius and polite scholar, I collect, that his wounded pride drove him into seclusion.

"For some years," says the author of his memoirs, "when enquiries were made after him by men of rank, who probably meant to render him assistance, it was almost impossible to trace his lodgings, which he frequently changed, and in some of which he passed by fictitious names."

Dr. Walcot, in answer to my enquiries concerning DE LOLME, writes as follows:

"MY DEAR SIR,

"In compliance with your wish to learn of me what I know of the late Monsieur De Lolme, with whom I was for several years in the habits of intimacy, I transmit you such particulars as I recollect respecting that extraordinary man.

"The figure of the excellent writer on the English Constitution, was neither diminutive nor gigantic. His features, if they did not

---

\* De Lolme was not a man, adds Dr. C. whom an ordinary provision would satisfy.

present the combination of regularity and beauty possessed by an Antinous, or an Apollo, were animated and pleasing. If Nature did not form him when in the humour of creating a work of sublimity, neither had she cast him in one of her ordinary moulds.

" His eye was replete with splendid vivacity, and emitted rays of sagacious intelligence. His observations demonstrated a felicity of thought, and a profound knowledge of men and things. His utterance, clear and unembarrassed, united to its promptness, an eloquence that would have shone amid the present meagre paucity to be found in our Courts of Judicature, or even within the more important circumference of either of the Houses of Parliamentary discussion.

" The manners of De Lolme were mild. Opposed in argument, he had too much politeness to exhibit displeasure at discomfiture, too much candour to be hostile to the voice of truth. When he made his secession from company, he seldom departed without leaving behind him some gem of sentiment, that, in *idea*, pleasingly prolonged his presence.

" Too sensible to the allurements of female beauty, he brought upon himself the *res angusta domi*, and in his nocturnal peregrinations, was, for a covering, sometimes indebted to the canopy of heaven, sometimes to a casual dormitory.

" To the disgrace of our nation, this illustrious foreigner, unpatronized by our parliamentary phalanxes (who admired his talents, and quoted his political lucubrations) retired in penury from this ungrateful country, (where he had moved, a comet amid a cluster of political stars) to part with existence amid the frigid and inhospitable mountains of Swisserland.

" I remain, my dear Sir,

" Your's very sincerely,

\* JOHN WOLCOT.

" *Montgomery Cottage, Somer's Town,*  
Nov. 4th, 1814.

" *To Dr. Busby,*  
*Queen Ann Street,*  
*Coventish Square."*

Dr. Wolcot has since assured me, " that De Lolme's conversation was *strikingly vivid*; that the stores of his mind were *immense*; and that the course of his imagination was the flight of an eagle."

From Mr. Planta, who was well acquainted with DE LOLME, I learn, that so tenacious was he of his independence, it was

with difficulty he persuaded him to call upon the late Lord Sandys, who had expressed a desire to administer to his comforts; and that when he went to his Lordship's, his garb not having been of a description to command due respect from the servants in the hall, his pride was so offended that, instead of waiting to be announced, he instantly left the house.

Mr. Harris, of the Royal Institution, who was well acquainted with De Lolme, and remembers having been told by the late Monsieur Dutens,\* that he had, at one time, been Secretary to the celebrated Abbé Mably, gives the same account as Mr. Planta, of his personal importance and elevated spirit. In the most neglected attire, and without a guinea in his purse, he would exact all the respect paid to the first nobleman.

The ingenious artist, Mr. Heath, says, that while he was engaged upon his portrait, De Lolme called upon him frequently, sometimes daily; and that he found him the most witty and pleasant man he had ever known. His conversation was so entertaining and instructive, as to induce him to protract the execution of the engraving, for the purpose of multiplying his visits.

"Remarking to me one day," says Mr. H. "that people are never so starch, constrained, demure, and *unlike themselves*, as when sitting for their *likenesses*," he added, "*Were I a painter, I would have two opposite houses; one for my own dwelling, and the other for the habitation of a number of monkeys, who, by exhibiting their vagaries at the windows, should force those who sat to me, to unscrew their features.*"

De Lolme was a warm admirer of our best poets and novelists, and so acutely susceptible of their most interesting impressions, that (a fact also communicated to me by this distinguished engraver) reading in CLARISSA HARLOWE, the relation of her arrest in Covent Garden, his feelings were so affected, that he could not refrain from throwing down the volume, and hastening to contemplate the scene of her injury and affliction.

Mr. Walker, who knew De Lolme many years, and who, about 1781, purchased of him the *copy-right* of his ESSAY,

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\* Author of "*Origine des Decouvertes attribuées aux Modernes.*" &c. &c.

informs me, that, till that time, he always published on his own account. In principle, he was a determined whig. Among his *political* connections, were the late Lord Lyttleton, Lord Abingdon, (of the latter of whom, he told Mr. Walker, he had learnt the greater part of his English) Lord North, Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, and Colonel Barre.\* He was in the habit of concerning himself with the *stocks*, by which he sometimes gained considerably; but fortune at length deserted him. Among his brokers, were Savage, Bird, and Savage; and he was well known at JONATHAN'S. His dress was very varied; sometimes that of a man of fashion, and at others, slovenly to a degree that indicated indigence. Mr. Walker was one of the *few* who knew some of his places of residence. He once lived in Green-street, Leicester Square, whence he moved to Pimlico, and afterwards to Mary-le-bone.

Mr. Walker also knows that De Lolme, though he called England his *home*, occasionally visited the continent. When he projected the publication of his "History of the Flagellants, or Memorials of human Superstition," he went to Paris for the purpose of getting the plates engraved, with which that work is illustrated.

Dr. Wolcot once asked him where he lived, when, after some hesitation, he smiling, answered—"Why, my dear Doctor, between Westminster Bridge and Hyde Park Corner."

Mr. Nichols corroborates the account given me by Mr. Walker, respecting De Lolme's general habits of life, and unequal personal appearances. He has one day met him in the most mean and neglected attire, and the next, seen him with his bag-wig and sword. Both Mr. Nichols and Mr. Walker have repeatedly seen him take from his pocket a handful of gold and bank-notes, gained by stock-jobbing: and both say, that his temporary successes were always followed by a long and total disappearance. For many months, no one

\* Mr. Sidney, about the year 1784, heard De Lolme say, that at one time a knife and fork was regularly laid for him on the table of Lord George Sackville.

Mr. Strafford, of Holborn Hill, (who was formerly in the habit of meeting De Lolme at the late Mr. Spilsbury's) says, that at that time, (about the year 1780) he lodged in Back Lane, Hatton Garden. Speaking of this learned foreigner's manners, Mr. S. adds, *That he was the politest of men; especially to females.*

could ascertain the place of his retirement, or even whether he was living.

Mr. Earle, of Albemarle Street, to whom De Lolme was well known, informs me, that he has repeatedly heard him declare, "that, in England, a political writer should be equally capable of taking either side; of advocating the cause of the Crown, or the cause of the People." A *Whig*, in the most liberal sense of the appellation,—he was, it seems, superior to party principles.

Mr. Spilsbury has a perfect recollection of De Lolme's person and manners. He has seen him very variously attired, though there was always something in his general appearance, which clearly indicated the gentleman.\* About the year 1800, De Lolme left in the care of Mr. Spilsbury's mother, a quantity of papers, partly consisting of Briefs, and Letters addressed to him, respecting a law-suit which he had with the late Mr. Stockdale, upon the subject of the copy-right of the Dissertation he furnished for the republication of DE FOE'S HISTORY of the UNION of ENGLAND and SCOTLAND; and partly of patents for, and specifications and drawings of, mechanical inventions for facilitating the motions of ships, and of wheel-carriages. These, and the late Mr. Spilsbury's *Account-book*, containing the particulars of the charges for printing the first and second editions of the ESSAY, and proving that they were printed on the author's account, the present Mr. Spilsbury has obligingly shewn me.

From Mr. Ward, formerly an apprentice of the late Mr. Spilsbury, I learn, that DE LOLME, about 1775, commenced a Periodical publication, under the title of "The News-Examiner."† and bearing the motto—"Ex fumo dare Lucem." Its object was, to select from the various Journals the most valuable of their lucubrations, and to point out, and animadvert upon, the party animosity of the different editors; and the

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\* What Mr. S. (from whom I have the following anecdote) adds, respecting the loftiness of De Lolme's spirit, agrees with the general account which I have received. Having presented to the King a copy of his Essay, he was much disappointed at the compliment made him: (a 50*l.* note) and has been heard to say—"I ought to have kicked it about the court yard of George the Third."

† A daily Paper, (demy-quarto) and printed by Mr. S.

frequent inconsistency of each with himself. The conductor, having published three or four numbers, received notice from the Stamp Office, that *duty* would be levied on the work, and on account of a drawback which the profits would not bear, was compelled to give up the undertaking.

Mr. Egerton knew De Lolme; and says that, to his knowledge, his mind was constantly occupied between literature and mechanics. Mr. Moore, the late Secretary of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Sciences, informed Mr. E that De Lolme had presented to the Society a newly-constructed sail; but which had been rejected as inadequate to its intended purposes. Its non-reception excited his indignation and resentment. Confident in the magnitude of his mental powers, he could not endure the supposition of their insufficiency to any thing he attempted, nor did he ever yield his opinion to objections against his projects.

Mr. Ridgeway, of Piccadilly, speaks in the same manner of De Lolme's immoveable spirit, and high opinion of whatever plan his own imagination suggested. He once proposed a publication to Mr. R. of the unpromising nature of which the latter felt convinced, but found it impossible to dissuade him from the idea he had adopted.

From another informant, I have learnt that DE LOLME was a good chymist, and addicted to chymical experiments. The expences of these, and of his mechanical projects, would, perhaps, alone be sufficient to account for his occasional and ultimate poverty, notwithstanding any temporary successes with which Fortune might favour his speculations in the Funds. But if we add to such draughts on his purse, some circumstances to which Dr. Wolcot alludes in his Letter, the consideration of a *pride* that would not easily stoop to the benefits of proffered bounty, and the fact, that the ESSAY on the ENGLISH CONSTITUTION is the only work from which he was known to derive any considerable emolument, the necessities under which he must have too often laboured, will be obvious. His decline of life appears to have been attended by a general failure of his finances. Before he left England for Switzerland, where he died in 1807, he received, as I learn from Mr. David

Williams, the venerable father of the "Literary Fund," pecuniary aid from that munificent Institution.\*

This account of De Lolme, and the communication of any acquirable knowledge, connected with his literary career, were not only preliminaries necessary to the facts and observations I am about to submit to the reader, but, from the indubitable testimonies in my possession, that the Letters of Junius were the productions of that learned and "*most ingenious foreigner*,"† assume a weight, and a value, commensurate with the very extraordinary nature of the incident.

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\* Mr. Sidney informs me that De Lolme, when he left England, was considerably indebted to the late brothers of the present Mr. Spilsbury, for printing; but that having, soon after his return to his native country, acquired, by the death of an uncle, a respectable competency, he remitted the sum due to them.

† "To speak in the words of a most ingenious foreigner, the minister has to choose between his duty and his reputation." (See Junius's Preface, par. 5.)

## CHAPTER II.

*Observations on the Dedication and Preface to the LETTERS of JUNIUS, and the Private Notes of that Writer, to Mr. Henry Sampson Woodfall.*

THE evidences about to be stated, of the Letters bearing the signature of JUNIUS being the productions of JOHN LEWIS DE LOLME are multifarious; analogical, phraseological, autographical, characteristical, argumentative, and circumstantial. Their number and variety, indeed, are so great as, for some time, to have perplexed my judgment in deciding upon their arrangement. But, at length, the most natural order appeared to be that in which the materials were collected; and the most eligible; as my own mind had experienced the progressive efficiency of that series of appeals made to it, by the various manifestations as they arose. However strong (viewed even separately) these may have appeared, I rest on no *isolated* indication of the fact, that DE LOLME was JUNIUS; but on a body of demonstration at once massive, complicated, and concordant. To use the words of JUNIUS himself, the idea "is not a *simple* idea, arising from a *single* fact; but a very complex idea, arising from *many* facts, well observed, and accurately compared."\*

Because Mr. Boyd, in his "Freeholder," says, "long enough have our eyes ached over this *barren prospect*, where *no verdure of virtue quickens*," and JUNIUS, in his sixty-ninth letter, addresses Lord Camden with "I turn with pleasure from that *barren waste*, in which no salutary plant takes root, *no verdure quickens*," Mr. Boyd has been honoured with the appellation of JUNIUS.—Mr. Dunning, afterwards Lord Ashburton, having begun one of the paragraphs of a letter to the Chamberlain of London, with "*To discharge faithfully the duties of whatever situation we are placed in, is among the FIRST OBJECTS OF OUR AMBITION*—*To be thought to have done so, I CONSIDER*

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\* Let. 29 par. 4.

AS THE SECOND ; and the thirty-seventh letter of JUNIUS having for its close "*That he [George the Third] may long continue the king of a free people, is the SECOND WISH THAT ANIMATES MY HEART: The first is, THAT THE PEOPLE MAY BE FREE,*" that learned lawyer has also been included among the persons suspected. As reasonably, since in "*The School for Scandal,*" we hear Charles Surface (speaking of the *Blunts,*) say, "*This is the first time they were ever bought or sold,*" and find JUNIUS, in his twelfth Letter, telling us, that the Duke of Bedford "*has bought and sold more than half of the representative integrity of the nation ;*" and, again, because we are told by *Sir Peter Teazle*, that "*when an old man marries a young woman, the crime carries the punishment along with it,*" and read in the fifty-fifth Letter of JUNIUS, that "*vanity is a venial error, for it usually carries its own punishment with it ;*" as well, I say, might we surmise that the Letters of JUNIUS were composed by the author of the admirable Comedy just named.

Dr. Robertson, observing in Dr. Johnson's anonymous "*Memoirs of the King of Prussia,*" a single expression borrowed, as he imagined, from Sir Thomas Browne, (whose diction Johnson, at that time, was known to be fond of imitating,) immediately felt convinced, that the learned lexicographer was the author. Dr. R., it is true, happened to be right: but had not the reality been verified by evidence much more satisfactory than that on which he depended, conviction would never have extended beyond his own mind. I shall not rest on *one* gallicism only, in the LETTERS of JUNIUS, to prove their foreign origin, and identify their author with DE LOLME.

The reader, aware of a general and tenacious prejudice, against which I have to contend; the prejudice, that no *Foreigner* could write such English as that of JUNIUS; and that, before I proceed to prove the *actuality* of what I assert, I ought to show its *possibility*, will excuse me, if I trespass on his patience with a few previous remarks.

First:—Should it be persisted in that De Lolme, as a *Foreigner*, could not have the means of knowing those ministerial and official secrets, the knowledge of which appears to have been so accessible to JUNIUS, I may observe that, as a literary *Foreigner*, he would have superior opportunities. A

Minister, a Ministerial Secretary, an Army Agent, or Upper Clerk of the Treasury, War-Office, or Admiralty, utterly unsuspecting of the *interference* of a *Citizen of Geneva*, in the domestic politics of GREAT BRITAIN, would, on such topics, be less reserved with *him* than with an Englishman. Add to this, that the very nature of the work in which he was engaged on his first arrival here, demanded enquiries which would direct him to political quarters, and lead to official intimacies. That such intimacies were really contracted, would, independently of Mr. Walker's and Mr. Sidney's intelligence, be sufficiently proved by a passage in the second note to the advertisement to his *Essay*. Complaining of the treatment he experienced from "a noble Earl then invested with a high office in the State," who, while he [De Lolme] was advertising for a subscription to his first English edition, borrowed of him, through the medium of a common friend, the only copy of the French edition which he then possessed; and which was never returned, he says,

"As a gentleman *who continues to fill an important office under the crown*, accidentally informed me about a year afterwards, that the noble Lord here alluded to, had lent him my French work, I had no doubt left that the copy I had delivered, had reached his Lordship's hand."

We here find his own avowal of *one* personal connection, calculated to afford him exactly such information as we remark in JUNIUS; a connection with *a gentleman who*, in 1784, (the date of the edition from which I make this extract,) "*continued to fill an important office under the crown.*" This intimacy De Lolme, probably, contracted soon after his settlement in England; certainly, previous to the commencement of his translation, since, on account of the above nobleman's detention of the only *French* copy he then possessed, he was necessitated, (he afterwards informs us,) *to borrow one to make his English edition from.* How many similar connections he might form, we cannot know: but (not to recur to his personal acquaintance with Lord Lyttleton, Lord Abingdon, Lord George Sackville, Lord North, Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, and Colonel Barré) it will be allowed, that even *one* such resource as the former, would have sufficed for any intelligence of which JUNIUS avails himself.

Secondly:—To those who have attentively read the conclu-

ding paragraph of the twelfth chapter of the second book of De Lolme's Treatise on our Constitution, and still retain the opinion, that the English of JUNIUS is beyond the reach of a *Foreign* pen, I would recommend the consideration of the following passages, copied from that work.\*—(Edit. 4.)

"Surrounded by a warlike, though a conquered nation, William kept on foot part of his army. The English, and after them the Normans themselves, having revolted, he crushed both; and the new King of England, at the head of victorious troops, having to do with nations laying under a reciprocal check, from the enmity they bore to each other, and, moreover, easily subdued by a sense of their unfortunate attempts of resistance, found himself in the most unfavourable circumstances for becoming an absolute Monarch: and his laws thus promulgated in the midst, as it were, of thunder and lightning, imposed the yoke of despotism both on the victors and the vanquished." (Pages 13 and 14.) Again:—

"But in England, the same feudal system, after having suddenly broke in like a flood, had deposited, and still continued to deposit, the noble seeds of the spirit of liberty, union and sober resistance. So early as the times of Edward, the tide was seen gradually to subside; the laws which protect the person and property of the individual, began to make their appearance; that admirable Constitution, the result of a three-fold power, insensibly arose; and the eye might even discover the verdant summits of that fortunate region that was destined to be the seat of philosophy and liberty, which are inseparable companions." (Page 40.) Again:—

"But the means of reformation which the Parliament of England has taken care to reserve to itself, is the more effectual, as it goes directly to its end. It does not oppose the usurpations of prerogative, as it were, in front—it does not encounter it in the middle of its career, and in the fullest flight of its exertion: but it goes in search of it to its source, and to the principle of its action. It does not endeavour forcibly to overthrow it; it only enervates its springs."†—(Page 81.)

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\* Extant, in manuscript, as early as 1771.

† See also the paragraphs "Thus liberty perished, &c." page 20. "Having never extended, &c." page 37. "But the means of reformation, &c." page 81. "He could not think, &c." page 166. "Of this difference, &c." page 206. "Tyranny in such states, &c." page 216. "As the representatives, &c." page 259. "But the person, &c." page 414. "Amidst the alarms, &c." page 512. "The agitations of men's minds, &c." page 533, and the last four paragraphs of the closing chapter.

If, after perusing these specimens of De Lolme's general proficiency in the idiom, and perfect command of the energies and beauties of our language, the reader exercise his judgment upon the passages of his *ESSAY*, referred to in the last note, he will find his wonder at this writer being proved to be the author of the *LETTERS* of JUNIUS considerably diminished. In comparing De Lolme with himself, as exhibited in his *ESSAY*, and in his *LETTERS*, he will, of course, consider the *very different natures* of an *Historical* and *Political Disquisition*, and an *Epistolary Philippic*. The *first*, he will regard as a large picture, in which boldness of disposition, and breadth and strength of colouring, are to strike in the mass, and at a distance; the *second*, as a finished cabinet-piece, in the execution of which the master, mindful of the close inspection to which the touches of his pencil will be subjected, employs his nicest skill, and exhausts his patience, to mark and heighten every feature; to blend elegance with force, and excel in *minutiæ*. The short time in which so well-digested and masterly a work as the *ESSAY* ON THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION was produced, (according to the author's assertion,) and the excessive labour bestowed, (by the writer's own acknowledgement,) upon the *LETTERS* of JUNIUS, seem to sanction this remark, and are worthy of being kept in view.

The encomiastic introduction of the name of De Lolme, in the *PREFACE* to the *LETTERS*, and the marked recommendation of a work which, evidently, its author hoped to make his stepping-stone both to fame and fortune, would, perhaps, be sufficient to countenance the early suspicion which they awakened in my mind. But if with the *care* taken to set forth the *ESSAY*, we combine the uneasiness evinced in the *Private Notes* to Woodfall, on account of the delay of the collective publication; and the extreme anxiety they betray to have the *Preface* printed with scrupulous exactness, we shall find it difficult not to infer a motive connected with the personal interests of the Citizen of GENEVA.\*

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\* That the Letters sent forth with the signature of JUNIUS were actually written with either a direct, or side view, to profit and advantage, will be made to appear from the very confession of the author.

From the fourth private Note to Woodfall, (dated July 17, 1769,) it appears that a Bookseller (Newberry,) reprinted about that time, such avowed Letters of Junius as had then appeared; but with so many *errata*, that the author was desirous to have them particularized in the *Public Advertiser*. The private notice inserted in that paper on the following day, informs JUNIUS where he may learn why his request has not been obeyed: and the succeeding *private note* shows that reason to have been, Woodfall's wish to publish an edition of his own, of which the uncorrected errors in *Newberry* would enhance the value. This note of Junius opens thus:

" SIR,

" July 21st, 1769, Friday Night.

" I can have no manner of objection to your printing the Letters, if you think it will answer, which I believe it might before *Newberry* appeared. If you determine to do it, give me a hint, and I will send you more *errata*, (indeed they are innumerable) and perhaps a Preface."

This note shews, that although the proposal to reprint the Letters at this time, came from *Woodfall*, and was apparently instigated by the example of *Newberry*, the idea of accompanying them with a *Preface*, originated with JUNIUS. Let us consider this Preface.

It opens with a professed concern for the interest of the printer, and a disavowal of any view to the profit of the author. The latter expression, taken in the sense of the profit arising from the sale of the Letters, is sincere: but if, in the fifth paragraph of this Preface, we find a living writer complimented with the superlative epithet, *most ingenious*; and in the last paragraph but one of the same Preface, observe the introduction of the name of that writer, accompanied with a warm and solicitous recommendation of his principal work, we shall recognise in such earnest support, prominently presented in a publication which JUNIUS himself expected would "*always be a selling book*," a motive sufficient, not only to prompt such a measure, supposing the hidden eulogist to be the author enjoying this commendatory and *permanent advertisement*, but a powerful inducement to conclude, that he actually was that author. If, again, we find JUNIUS, in his numerous quotations from various writers, uniformly and scrupulously faithful to all

except *one*; but in two quotations inserted in his preface, from *this* writer, observe liberties taken which an author is entitled to use with *himself*, but with *himself only*; if, in the first quotation, we read, "to choose between his duty and his reputation," instead of "to choose between his duty, and *the surrender of all his former reputation*;" if, in the second, (though given word for word) we observe that the punctuation is materially changed, and, again, that both quotations are improved by these freedoms, we shall perceive a double indication, that JUNIUS is quoting from his own production. Farther, if, throughout the Letters of JUNIUS, we trace that gentlemanly sense of propriety which would forbid such liberties with a living author, especially an author whom he professes to respect, we shall feel a still stronger persuasion, that these liberties are taken with *himself*.

I became more and more sensible to the force of this impression; and did not re-peruse the DEDICATION of the Letters, without noticing, in the first paragraph, a phrase parallel with one in the last paragraph but four, of the first chapter of the second book of the ESSAY. The Dedication presents us with "when the *force and direction* of personal satire," &c.; and in the ESSAY we find, "where it mingles and loses its *force and direction*." Here, then, without including other particulars, in the same Dedication and Preface,—particulars infinitely more important to my object---three circumstances present themselves, each associating the ideas of DE LOLME and JUNIUS. Should the impossibility continue to be asserted, of a *foreigner* writing such English as that of JUNIUS, I produce the very quotation with which JUNIUS has thought proper to conclude his Preface; the diction of which quotation, certainly, is no disgrace to the paragraphs it succeeds; and would, perhaps, have defied his own improvement. Should the altered punctuation JUNIUS has adopted, in the passage quoted from the twelfth chapter of the second book of the ESSAY, be called accidental, it can be shewn, that not only does such an accident never occur in his quotations from other authors, but always when he quotes, or borrows, from DE LOLME.

In the private note, Number 5, (dated July 21, 1769) after intimating to Woodfall (who had proposed to reprint the Let-

ters) that he would furnish a Preface, JUNIUS proceeds to say,

"I really doubt whether I shall write any more under this signature. I am weary of attacking a set of brutes, whose writings are too dull to furnish me even with the materials of contention, and whose measures are too gross and direct to be the subject of argument, or to require illustration."

It is impossible not to observe, how suddenly (after writing for eight months under the signature of JUNIUS) he discovers, that his opponents are *too dull* to be any longer encountered! But encountered how? Under the signature of JUNIUS. They may continue to be assailed by *Veteran, Anti-Belial, Scotus, Arthur Tell-Truth, Nemesis*, any signature but that of JUNIUS! What is about to occur just at the juncture that this writer is first struck with the unworthiness of these "*brutes*," to be any longer attacked by JUNIUS? The re-publication of the LETTERS of JUNIUS, accompanied with a *Preface*. 'What will that Preface contain? A recommendatory quotation from DE LOLME's Essay on the English Constitution. With what will it conclude? The fulfilment of the task originally assigned to JUNIUS:—his strong and permanent recommendation of that work.\*

However, for some reason, the re-publication is deferred; and his antagonists again become worthy of being contended with, under the signature of *Junius*. The *dignity* of Junius, nevertheless, is kept in due reserve. In Number 7, (dated Aug. 16, 1769) we find the invisible correspondent of Woodfall, saying,

"As to JUNIUS, I must wait for fresh matter, as this is a character which must be kept up with credit."

If JUNIUS had no pre-determined, ultimate office to perform, why was it more important to keep up *his* character, than to raise that of the other signatures? He was destined to effect that which at length he did effect; hence, it was necessary to support his consequence.

In Number 17 (dated Dec. 26, 1769,) he says to Woodfall,

"I doubt much whether I shall ever have the pleasure of knowing you; but if things take the *turn* I expect, you shall *know me by my works*."

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\* I shall conclude this Preface with a quotation, applicable to the subject, from a foreign writer, whose Essay on the English Constitution I beg leave to recommend to the public, as deep, solid and ingenious.

The *turn* really occurred, and now explains this passage. Considering that the writer was about to be known to his printer, by works bearing his real name, and that were to be lifted into more general notice by commendations bestowed on himself in his assumed character, this was a more adventurous declaration than we should have looked for from a mind so wary. The Letters were not re-published till March 1772, but their re-appearance was, from the first proposal, unremittingly designed, and continually expected.

Number 39 (dated Nov. 5, 1771) opens with,

"Your reasons are very just about printing the *Preface*, &c. It is your own affair. Do whatever you think proper. *I am convinced the book will sell*, and I suppose will make two volumes."

"Of the "reasons," communicated by Woodfall respecting the *Preface* and *Dedication*, it is impossible to know any thing more, than that they must have been indifferent to the great object JUNIUS had in view. *Convinced that the book would sell*, he could with unaffected *nonchalance*, tell his printer, that it was *his own affair*; and that he might do *whatever he thought proper*.

His anxiety, as avowed in Number 40, (dated Nov. 8, 1771,) that Woodfall should anticipate the meeting of parliament, will be better noticed in another place; but the desire "to see *corrected proofs* of the *two first sheets*" joined with the declaration, that with respect to the *rest*, Woodfall himself must correct the press, demands notice *en passant*. The *two first sheets* comprised the DEDICATION and PREFACE, the *latter* of which contained particulars too important to be wholly trusted to the care of the printer. Even the omission of the name of DE LOLME in the margin, had been a serious slip; and a literal error in the expression "*most ingenious foreigner*," or in "*a performance deep, solid, and ingenious*," might have done something more than disturb the sedateness of its air. The words of the two succeeding sentences are,

"Shew the DEDICATION and PREFACE to Mr. Wilkes; and if he has any *material* objection let me know."

Junius had written too well, and too long, without the assistance of Mr. Wilkes, to be in need of that gentleman's criticism in a *Dedication* or *Preface*. The real object was, to try privately the strength of the stratagem, before it was

practised upon the public. If it passed muster in *Prince's Court*,\* there would be little danger elsewhere. It escaped Mr. Wilkes's observation, though his notice of it, evidently, was the possible "*material*" objection of which JUNIUS was not entirely unapprehensive. On Number 41 (dated Nov. 8, 1771) I have only to remark, that it contains the *third* expression of JUNIUS's fear, that the paper of Woodfall's edition is not so good as that of Wheble's. He is as solicitous that Woodfall's should be the *selling* copy, as if that of Wheble contained rival compositions. Indeed, as regarding *him*, it did; since, so far as *their* sale should impede the circulation of the edition containing the *Preface*, JUNIUS, that is, DE LOLME, would be injured much more seriously than Woodfall.

Number 45, (dated Dec. 5, 1771,) presents us with,

"In a few days more, I shall have sent you all the copy. You must then take care of it yourself, except that I must see proof sheets of the DEDICATION and PREFACE, and these, if at all, I must see before the end of the week."

Here, again, we find him anxious to inspect the DEDICATION and PREFACE.

The *Preface* was the object; (only the *Preface* was at first proposed)† but it would have been hazardous to ask for that alone. This note concludes with,

"When you send the above-mentioned *proof sheets*, return my own copy with them."

We do not, till now, find him, in the whole course of his private correspondence with Woodfall, requiring the return of his manuscripts. Its necessity, perhaps, never struck him so forcibly as at the moment when JUNIUS was about to call the public attention to DE LOLME.

The *liberal commendation* contained in *this* M. S. might draw to the hand-writing the too curious examination of some inquisitive acquaintance. Better to prevent it, however disguised the writing. Nevertheless, the ingenious Editor of Mr. George Woodfall's edition, says positively, in his Preliminary Essay, that JUNIUS did not, at last, revise the *Dedication* and *Preface*:

\* Prince's Court, Storey Gate, Westminster; where Mr. Wilkes then resided.

† See No. 3.

And this, after all, from the difficulty of communication, of which JUNIUS so pointedly speaks in Number 40, (or from some other cause) might really be the fact. The manuscripts of both having been left in the hands of Mr. H. S. Woodfall, the natural conclusion will be, that these *proofs* were not corrected by the author. It is, however, sufficient for our purpose, to have shewn, that it was the earnest wish of JUNIUS to correct them himself. A passage in the following note, Number 46, (dated Dec. 10, 1771,) favours both the assertion of Mr. George Woodfall's editor, and my main hypothesis. The writer says to his printer,

"I have no view but to serve you, and consequently have only to desire that the DEDICATION and PREFACE may be correct. Look to it. If you take it upon yourself, I will not forgive your suffering it to be spoiled. I weigh every word; and every alteration, in my eyes at least, is a blemish."

It was so necessary to the success of JUNIUS's project, that Woodfall should think himself the only person served by the forthcoming publication, that the leading member of the first sentence, "*I have no view but to serve you,*" is, perhaps, excusable. But with what second individual could any benefit flowing from the publication of these letters possibly come in contact, except with him whose labours the *Preface* so highly extols; so warmly recommends? To the real name of their *unknown* author, if that author were not DE LOLME, their *fame* could never attach: and with the *profit of their sale* he had no concern. Only to *two* individuals were these advantages, by any possibility, traceable; WOODFALL and DE LOLME. Here, too, we again find the writer anxious about the correctness of the *Dedication* and the *Preface*. If the printer takes upon himself the revision of the press (which expression informs us, that it was not yet finally settled, whether the task was to devolve on the printer, or the author) he is not to be forgiven, though he fail but in a single instance! The writer *weighs every word*; and in HIS eyes *every alteration is a blemish*! Yet, on other occasions, he is not so scrupulous.

In December, 1767, Woodfall in answer to a communication from JUNIUS, remonstrates with him in his paper, concerning the severity of the language, and hopes to be "per-

mitted to make such changes in certain expressions, as *may* take off the immediate offence ;” with which request, by the abruptness of several of the passages, the author appears to have complied. (See the ninth Miscellaneous Letter.)

Number 17 exhibits him reconciled to “*embowelling*,” or any alteration which the printer may deem necessary : and in Number 33, we find him saying to the printer, respecting an article he had prepared,

“ I leave it to you to alter or omit, as you think proper.”\*

By a passage in Number 56, we learn that Woodfall proposed to print the DEDICATION and PREFACE in the Public Advertiser, as a substitute for their present non-appearance, the volumes being not yet ready. To this expedient JUNIUS objects. The reason he gives for his dissent, that “*the attention of the public would then be quite lost to the book itself*,” is too futile to be the real one. In the private notes, he repeatedly expresses his opinion, that the letters would *always* sell : an opinion which could not be founded upon the DEDICATION and PREFACE. The truth is, he was fearful of the appearance of these, by themselves. So presented to the public eye, the attentions paid by JUNIUS to the “*Essay on the English Constitution*” might have been too conspicuous. Though, amalgamated with the other matter, the encomium on De Lolme would not too forcibly challenge remark, a paper in Woodfall’s columns, commending in *two places*, the merits of his principal work, closing with a quotation of one of its conspicuous paragraphs, and displaying the name of the author in the broad margin beneath, might be too much for the general eye. Not invited onward by the presence of the Letters themselves, it might repose on the eulogistic conclusion, and see something novel, where even Mr. Wilkes’s suspicion had slept.

So far, I have considered these private communications only as they regard the *Dedication* and *Preface* ; and, viewed no nearer, they would admit the possibility of De Lolme’s owing the desirable notice of JUNIUS to some secret admirer and patron : but a closer inspection will show, to demonstration, that it flowed from the pen of DE LOLME.

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\* A proof, by the way, of his high opinion of the printer’s judgment and abilities.

By Number 3, (dated July 15, 1769) it appears that Woodfall had obscurely intimated some intended proposal. And Number 5, explains that proposal to be, *the re-printing of the Letters*. In a former Note (No. 3,) the political satirist is anxious to ascertain, whether the printer has any knowledge, or even suspicion of his name or person.

“Tell me candidly,” says he, “whether you know or suspect who I am.”

The printer, a man of fair and direct dealing, would naturally answer this query without hesitation; and, as naturally, in the *negative*. This satisfaction given, the author is willing to see his lucubrations in volumes.

“I have no manner of objection to your re-printing the Letters, ———” (Number 5.)

It is *possible*, I will grant, that the idea of turning JUNIUS to the account to which he afterwards was turned, had its birth in Woodfall’s proposal, as first indistinctly hinted; since No. 3, exhibits the feeling concomitant with such an idea; the anxiety to be *certain that the Journalist was totally ignorant of his Correspondent*. Satisfied on this point, the writer not only immediately resolves upon adopting his project, but commences its execution.

“If,” says he, “you determine to do it,” [to reprint the Letters,] “give me a hint, and I will send you more *errata*, and, perhaps, a *Preface*.”

But he had also another cogent necessity to be certain that he was unknown and unsuspected:—Since JUNIUS was to owe a considerable portion of his future popularity to that severity of invective which, through the medium of a jury, might bring large calls upon the purse of the printer, the prospect of his correspondent’s pecuniary aid, if needful, could not fail to infuse courage. But, (besides that JUNIUS had already announced himself *a man of rank and fortune*) succour of this kind could not be promised by a man known to be in the situation of DE LOLME. Woodfall’s answer to his significant enquiry, informed him, how securely he might engage to indemnify all losses. He is accordingly (in *promise*) immediately liberal.

In Number 6, (dated Aug. 6, 1769,) after saying to Woodfall,

"Whether you have guessed well or ill, must be left to our future acquaintance,"

JUNIUS assures him, that, *for the matter of assistance, should a question arise upon any of his writings, he shall not want it.* To this he afterwards adds,—"*in point of money, be assured, you never shall suffer.* The real state of things, however, appears, when danger seems at hand. Woodfall having been served with an *ex officio* information for printing the Letter to the King, the writer says to him, in Number 19, (dated Feb. 1770.)

"If your affair should come to a trial, and you should be found guilty, you will then let me know what expence falls particularly on yourself; for I understand you are engaged with other proprietors. Some way or other, *you shall be reimbursed.*"

This *some way or other*, unfolds the secret. *A man of rank and fortune* would have thought of but *one way*. It is evident, by several passages in these notes, that Junius seriously wished Woodfall not to be a sufferer; and the *above* is the very expression of a man not qualified to remunerate another in the most eligible mode; but disposed to do it by the best means in his power. Add to this, that in the thirty-ninth note, we read,

"I think *you should give money to the waiters of that place to make them more attentive.*"

The liberal disregard of money professed by JUNIUS, would, had he been a man of opulence, have rendered this hint to Woodfall quite unnecessary. From *a man of rank and fortune*, engaged in a pursuit to which he refused no labour, a few shillings would have flowed spontaneously. Not only would he never have missed them; scarcely would he have been conscious of their disposal.

Number 11, (dated Nov. 8, 1769,) presents the writer saying,

"The only thing that hinders my pushing the subject of my last Letter, is really the fear of ruining that poor devil, Gansel, and those other blockheads."

This is a feint played off upon the printer. The reality of General Gansel's business was, that the General, when arrested, taking advantage of the confusion occasioned by the sudden concourse of some of the military, slipped from the hands of the sheriff's officers. JUNIUS, sometimes truly informed, and

at others, assuming more intelligence than he really possessed,\* took up the affair too hastily; and finding afterwards, that he had made of it more than the fact would support, was glad to drop it altogether. In the addition of the *Essay* to which I have already alluded, (the fourth) *DE LOLME*, that is, this very *JUNIUS*, has faithfully recounted the whole transaction. (See Note in p. 466.)

In Number 43, (Dated Nov. 15, 1771,) we meet with

"Think no more of *JUNIUS AMERICANUS*. Let him re-print his Letters himself."

*Junius Americanus* was a Dr. Charles Lee, whose contributions Woodfall appears to have thought of also publishing collectively. It certainly was not favourable to *JUNIUS*'s great object, that the honours of a collective re-print should flow to his Letters, only in common with those of the *Transatlantic Junius*; from the same source too, and at the same moment. The unassociated dignity of *JUNIUS* would be the most auspicious to his secret purpose: therefore, he says to Woodfall, "*Let him re-print his Letters himself.*"

Number 15, (dated Dec. 19, 1769,) concludes with

"I am now meditating a capital, and I hope a final piece;—you shall hear of it shortly."

This was the Address to the King, which he was then transcribing, with corrections and embellishments, from a former Letter to the same great personage, published as an anonymous pamphlet. But of this curious fact more hereafter.

Number 20, (dated Feb. 14, 1770,) informs Woodfall, that he has "carefully perused the information," and that he is

"Persuaded Mr. De Grey could not have had a hand in it. Their inserting the whole, proves they had no strong passages to fix on. I

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\* As when he asserted, that Mr. Bradshaw burst into a flood of tears; when Mr. Grey Cooper threatened to lodge a complaint against him; when he attacked the Duke of Grafton respecting Whittlebury Forest; when he attributed to Mr. Weston a pamphlet entitled "A Vindication of the Duke of Grafton, and the transactions between Lord Hillsborough and Sir Jeffery Amherst;" and when he reported that Mr. Horne was the author of the misrepresentations concerning his *Letter on the Bill of Rights*; and, as he himself confesses, when, in his fourth private letter to Mr. Wilkes, he says, 'I was at last obliged to hazard a bold assertion.'

still think it will not be tried. If it should, it is not possible for a jury to find you guilty."

The whole tenor of this note is too characteristic of the lawyer, not to indicate a writer more conversant with legal forms and judicial practice, than a mere "English gentleman." It is not probable that any one whose eye had not been familiarized with *indictments* and *informations*, would have detected the *looseness* and *ill-drawing* of the instrument with which the printer had been served. The remark concerning "*their inserting the whole*," is pregnant with *professional* acuteness.\*

But De Lolme was not only a *Lawyer*, he was a *Foreigner*. Proofs that JUNIUS was likewise a *Foreigner* are by no means wanting. The third paragraph in number 47, (dated Dec. 1771,) represents him requiring of Woodfall, a set of the work bound in *vellum*. This struck me instantaneously. *We* do not bind in *vellum*. Not satisfied with my general acquaintance with this fact, I have examined many libraries, besides those of my immediate friends, but without meeting with a single *English* work bound in *vellum*. To bind in *vellum* is almost exclusively a *foreign* custom; and the wish of JUNIUS to have a set of his Letters so bound, strongly implies, that he was not an Englishman. Several book-binders have informed me, that they are scarcely ever required to bind in *vellum*, except by *foreigners*: and that when foreigners in England consent to the adoption of *leather*, it is simply because *here* vellum-binding is so much dearer than on the continent. Not to travel, at present, out of the *Private Notes* for other proofs, that JUNIUS was not a native of this country, I shall here confine myself to the observing a second indication, however trivial, of the fact upon which I am insisting. The words *risk* and *mask*, in these private notes, as well as in the public Letters, are uniformly spelt *risque* and *masque*.

No. 47 contains a striking instance of the intrusion of foreign orthography.

"I rely upon your care to have it printed either to-morrow in your own paper, or to night in the *Pacquet*."

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\* *De Lolme* having been bred to the law, these *private* particulars, viewing him in the character of a man who had been so initiated, apply to him directly; and strikingly coincide with the numerous indications in his *public* Letters, of the writer's legal education.

It is left to the reader to say, whether an Englishman, familiar with a newspaper entitled "The London Packet," would be liable to apply to that paper, the French designation here used by JUNIUS? "*Packet*," not "*Pacquet*," was the spelling daily figured to his eye; and if he was an Englishman, assuredly, he was the only Englishman that ever, under similar circumstances, employed *French* orthography in the nomination of an *English Journal*.

The question JUNIUS puts to Woodfall, in Number 48, (dated Jan. 6, 1772,) Whether, if he receive on the 8th, or 9th, instant, a long paper which he has prepared, [his elaborate Letter to Lord Mansfield,] he can, in a day or two, furnish him with *two proof sheets*, and keep the form standing for the *Public Advertiser* of the 21st? can only be unravelled, by the supposition, that though he did not wish the article to appear till the meeting of Parliament, he was desirous to avail himself of some opportunity he might have to transmit, by a friend, one of these *proofs* to his connections abroad. The request of *two proofs* could not be for the purpose of submitting one of them to a *legal* examination; to that task his writings shew him to have been himself fully competent; besides that, between the 8th, or 9th, and the 21st, there would have been ample time for any second person to scrutinize the manuscript, and return it for the use of the printer. In the following note, (dated Jan. 11, 1772,) he expresses extreme disappointment and distress, at not having received these proofs; and adds,

"It is not merely to correct the press, (though even that is of consequence,) but for another most *material purpose*. This will be entirely defeated, if you do not let me have two proofs on Monday morning."

And again, at the end,

"If you have any regard for me, or for the cause, let nothing hinder your sending the proofs on Monday."

From the 50th Letter of Junius we learn, that his compositions, as fast as they appeared here, were translated on the continent, and re-printed by foreign presses.\* That one of these

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\* "These Letters, my Lord, are read in other countries, and in other languages; and I think I may affirm, without vanity, that the gracious character of the best of Princes is, by this time, not only perfectly known to his own subjects, but tolerably well understood by the rest of Europe." Let. 50, par. 2.

two *proofs*, (of one of the most important of all his epistles,) was destined to disseminate its subject matter in distant lands, we cannot reasonably doubt. How probable, therefore, it is, that a friend then leaving England, afforded the opportunity of its conveyance, and that the day on which JUNIUS is so anxious to receive the *proofs*, was the last to which this friend could wait!

In Number 47, he recommends Woodfall not to publish till the second week in January. Parliament was to meet on the 21st, and he seems to have laid great stress upon the work coming upon the members fresh at the very opening of the Sessions. Number 51, (dated Jan. 18, 1772,) expresses his concern, that it is not out.

"It ought to have appeared before the meeting of Parliament. By no means would I have you insert this long Letter, if it made more than the difference of two days in the publication. Believe me, the delay is a real injury to the cause. The Letter to M. may come into a new edition."

Number 25, (dated Jan. 25, 1772,) finishes with "I am impatient for the book." In Number 53, (dated Feb. 3, 1772,) he is averse from the insertion of a table of contents.

"It will," says he, "be endless, and answer no purpose."

That was, it would still procrastinate the publication: and Number 54, (dated Feb. 10, 1772,) concludes with,

"The delay of the book spoils every thing."

Number 55, (dated Feb. 17, 1772,) is wholly occupied with similar complaints:—

"Surely you have misjudged it very much about the book. I could not have conceived it possible that you could protract the publication so long. At this time, particularly, before Mr. Sawbridge's motion, it would have been of singular use. You have trifled too long with the public expectation. At a certain point of time, the appetite palls. I fear you have already lost the season. The book, I am sure, will lose the greater part of the effect I expected from it. But I have done."

To the question, *What was the effect he expected from the appearance of the volumes?* A more satisfactory answer cannot be given, than by the writer's own words in Number 17, where he says,

"If things take the turn I expect, you shall know me, by my works."

The knowledge of him by *his works*, then, was the effect he

expected. But the two passages, viewed together, will neither leave room for argument, nor call for explanation. "*If things take the turn I expect, you shall know me by my works.*" "*The book I am sure, will lose the greatest part of the effect I expected from it.*"

Number, 56, (dated Feb. 29, 1772,) discovers that Woodfall has apologized for the delay,---that JUNIUS is willing to believe the protraction was unavoidable---and closes with,

"All I can now say is, make haste with the book."

By number 57, (dated Feb. 29, 1772,) we learn, that the work is upon the eve of its appearance; and that JUNIUS is "very glad to see that the book will be out before Sawbridge's motion."

The motives here assigned for the author's extreme anxiety to have the volumes out, were not the real ones. He had an object: but it was not *the fear of injuring the cause*; it was not *the hope of aiding Mr. Sawbridge's motion*; it was not *the apprehension that the public appetite would pall*; or, that *the season would be lost*. The cause could not suffer by the delay of a publication, the whole contents of which, nearly, had already appeared. Mr. Sawbridge's motion for the institution of triennial Parliaments, could not be sensibly served by the appearance of two volumes containing one page in favour of that measure. JUNIUS could not be afraid that *the public appetite would be palled*, or *the season lost*, with respect to a work which he had repeatedly asserted would "*always be a selling book.*" What, then, were the real motives of JUNIUS? What his objects? Immediate honour and profit.\* But how could immediate honour and profit arrive to *him* from such a source? He who wrote as JUNIUS, had no visible relation to him who so signed himself: no substantial affinity or connection with the exhibited shadow. The personal, and the nominal JUNIUS, were two distinct characters. True: but kindled to a sun by the intense rays of public favour, JUNIUS was empowered to shed lustre upon this detached orb. De Lolme was to rise, a star gilded by the beams of JUNIUS, though JUNIUS, as De Lolme, remained beneath the horizon. For this illumination DE LOLME was impatient. Parliament had assembled: They, in whose eyes it was his interest and ambition to

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\* That JUNIUS really looked to these objects I have engaged to prove.

glitter, were already gazing at the political firmament, and he was not there, eclipsing the minor lights. His translated *Essay* was ready for the press, a subscription was on foot, and the author was waiting for JUNIUS to push the undertaking. Or rather, *this* object operated but in junction with others. *Fame*, *honour*, and *emolument*, combined their claims, and urged that importunity with which he harassed Woodfall, and accelerated the publication.

But this alleged view to *profit* as well as to reputation, supposes the financial circumstances of JUNIUS to have been very different from those of "a man of rank and fortune." It will, however, be admitted, that, even were we without evidence of his comparative penury, his own announcement of his elevation and opulence, would be no decision on these points: much more secure, then, shall we be against this objection, if we prove, that instead of being "*far above all pecuniary views*," he was neither exalted in station, nor, speaking generally, ample in purse.

Number 51, (dated Jan. 18, 1772,) commences with "The gentleman who transacts the *conveyancing* part of our correspondence, tells me there was much difficulty last night. For this reason, and because it could be no way material for me to see a paper on Saturday which is to appear on Monday, I resolved not to send for it."

Number 58, (dated March 3, 1772,) says

"Your letter was twice refused last night, and the waiter as often attempted to see the person who sent for it."

And the writer closes with

"Pray let the *two* sets be well parcelled up, and left at the bar of Munday's Coffee House, Maiden Lane, with the same direction, and with orders to be delivered to a chairman who will ask for them in the course of to-morrow evening."

That the gentleman who transacted the *conveyancing* part of the correspondence, the person to whom the above Letter was twice refused, and the chairman to whom the *two* sets were to be delivered at Munday's Coffee House, were one and the same person, that is, JUNIUS himself, cannot rationally be doubted. Should the reader think otherwise, he will, perhaps, when he reads the third paragraph of Number 5, find it difficult to retain his opinion. JUNIUS there says to Woodfall—  
"Whenever you have any thing to communicate to me, let the

him be thus, C at the usual place, and so direct to Mr. John Fretley, at the same Coffee House, *where it is impossible I should be known.*" It were idle to offer remarks upon the latter member of this sentence. We see who was the immediate receiver of Woodfall's Letters;—that JUNIUS was *his own conveyancer*, in the disguise of a chairman; and that the *evening* was chosen, to favour the delusion. But would a man of rank or fortune practise such a stratagem? Would not money have commanded many other preferable modes of procuring the printer's letters and parcels? If we suppose JUNIUS, though weakly, to have been so parsimonious as to grudge the expence of an intermediate communication, (an idea directly at variance with the principles he uniformly professes to Woodfall,) we shall only subdue one difficulty to encounter another, and a greater. No man living in splendour could, so disguised, quit his house and return, without attracting the observation, and exciting the secret ridicule, of his domestics: nor would such a man be reconciled to the changing habiliments abroad with a *chairman*. Again, a man of rank, repeatedly resorting to such a measure, would be in imminent danger of applying to some chairman acquainted with his person; and even, though that should not happen, still there would be the probability of such a manœuvre, frequently employed, becoming a subject of conversation. Viewed in any way, such conduct in a man of rank, is repugnant to common credence. But, if we transfer the character of JUNIUS from a *man of rank and fortune*, to that of DE LOLME, we assign it to an individual exactly so circumstanced as to render such a resource obvious, easy, and natural. A man often so obscurely lodged that he could not be traced by those who wished to pay him homage, in the shape of bounty; who was frequently changing his habitation, and sometimes even adopting a fictitious name;—such a man could steal abroad in almost any attire, (so it were humble) unnoticed, and unsuspected. In a similar measure, practised by an individual highly stationed, we see nothing but difficulty and embarrassment; but viewing it in a man in *De Lolme's* known circumstances, perceive every convenience and facility. By the situation of *one*, the measure is forbidden; by that of the *other*,

invited. In the first case, it both violates the feelings of rank, and opposes the very *supposition* of affluence; in the second, it concurs with personal habits, and accommodates pecuniary necessity.

But the question, Whether JUNIUS was a *man of rank and fortune*, or of confined finances, shall be farther examined.

JUNIUS affects to pride himself in a liberality of sentiment, and generosity of spirit; but I do not learn from Mr. George Woodfall, that he has reason to suppose his father ever received from JUNIUS the least remuneration for the heavy expences incurred by his trial for printing the LETTER to the KING. Indeed the words of the author himself, in Number 33 (dated Feb. 21, 1771) imply that no pecuniary recompence was ever made or even offered. "A little expence," says he, "is not to be regarded, and I hope these papers have reimbursed you;" and in Number 50, (dated Jan. 16, 1772) he assures Woodfall, *that he has the greatest reason to be pleased with his care and attention, and wishes it were in his power to render him some essential service.* This is not the language of a man, high in station, splendid in income, and noble in spirit. Such a man, owing to the steady, patriotic, and adventurous boldness of his printer, the gratification of carrying a point so important with him, as that of mortifying ministers and parliament; and also indebted to that printer's very honourable forbearance from any attempt to discover him, would have scorned to direct the recollection of that printer to any possible advantage derived to his *paper* from his occasional contributions. Such a man would have demanded a statement of the costs incurred, and insisted upon refunding them.\*

By Number 46 (dated Dec. 10, 1771) it appears, that JUNIUS did not take in the PUBLIC ADVERTISER. Naming some letters he wished to have inserted in the work, he says to Woodfall, "They must be in the course of October." Had he been *certain* of their having appeared in that month, he would not have said, "they *must* be," but, "they *were*, in the course of October:" not certain, but possessing the papers,

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\* DE LOLME possessed a spirit equal to this; and was deficient only in the means.

he could in a moment have made himself certain. If it seem a strained supposition, that De Lolme should have been too indigent to find it, at all times, convenient to purchase the *Public Advertiser*, it will appear so much more extraordinary, that a man of rank and fortune, a constant and zealous writer in that journal, should have been without it, that the reader will not hesitate in deciding between the two cases.

In Number 47 (dated Dec. 17, 1771,) after desiring Woodfall to furnish him with a set of the work bound in vellum, gilt and lettered, JUNIUS I, II, as handsome as possible—the edges gilt---and apprising him that the sheets should be well dried before binding---he adds “I must also have two sets in blue covers. This is all the fee I shall ever desire of you.” It might strike Woodfall as a little odd, that an opulent correspondent should make this request; especially as he (Woodfall) was not a bookbinder.---JUNIUS, to counteract so natural an impression, says, in Number 58 (dated March 3, 1771) “when I desired to have two sets sewed, and one bound in vellum, it was not from a principle of œconomy. I despise such little savings, and shall still be a purchaser. If I were to buy as many sets as I want, it would be remarked.” This application for three sets of the work, one of which was to be splendidly bound, does not very strongly countenance the pretension of JUNIUS to affluence: but the assurance to Woodfall, that *this is all the FEE he shall ever ask of him*, by intimating that he shall receive the books with a feeling that includes the idea of a gratuity, betrays a sensation perfectly uncharacteristic of a man placed by fortune above the habit of accepting remuneration for his productions. The observation, in excuse of his request, that *if he were to buy as many sets as he wants, it would be remarked*, is itself so remarkable, that it could not have escaped Woodfall’s secret animadversion.\* To a mind half as fertile in expedients as that of JUNIUS, would not a thousand methods have presented themselves, for safely pro-

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\* How could he possibly want many copies? He who could not distribute them? He who was never to be known as JUNIUS? Or, why would it be less remarkable that a gentleman should be known to possess many copies, than that he should be seen to purchase many copies?

curing any number of copies? The difficulty was pretended, and the pretence exposes the only imaginable cause of the application: It was at that moment convenient to him to save the purchase-money. Were any further argument wanting in proof of this, it might fairly be deduced from the very circumstance of the *transfer*. He had long been regretting the *hazard* he ran, in obtaining Woodfall's communications.\* Such hazards might now have ceased; his *dangers* might now have been at an end. To submit to their continuation for no object, but that of obtaining from Woodfall three sets of the work was, in fact, to confess, that he was a man of limited means: that their free presentation would be suitable to his finances.

Should the refusal of *Junius* to share with Woodfall the profits of the publication, be said to lessen the force of these remarks, it would be sufficient to answer.—*First*, that there are powerful reasons for supposing, that, sensible of the perils Woodfall had encountered on his score, knowing the advantage he himself was so near upon reaping, from the past agency of the *Public Advertiser*, his native honour and liberality (In pecuniary points) disdained to interfere with emoluments which he thought belonged to the original publisher. *Secondly*, that had he even been disposed to divide these benefits, the main object of his *Epistles*, and his own uniform profession of independency, combined to render it impracticable. Not only did he, for various reasons, never intend to reveal himself to Woodfall, (though in Number 41 he says to him, "Act honourably by me, and at a proper time you shall know me,") but he had also determined to preserve with him his character of *rank and fortune*. His knowledge of mankind informed him, that JUNIUS's confession of his poverty, would go further than to the forfeiture of his character of veracity. The loss of his *imagined* elevation and wealth, would, he well knew, deprive him of a large portion of its *intended* influence. Genius in combination with opulence, is genius indeed. If personal importance add its weight to the dye, the stamp of talent sinks deep, and its impression is durable. The *deception*, independently of its fortifying Woodfall with the certainty of pecuniary redemption,

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\* See private notes 19—31—33—38—41—51.

should he suffer in his purse, had a secret, and, perhaps, unconscious influence on other of that printer's feelings, natural to the human heart. His pride was flattered by a secret and confidential communication with *him* who, perhaps, held one of the highest stations in the country. Woodfall evidently looked up to JUNIUS with sensations very different from those which any powers of mind had commanded, not backed by a supposed personal importance: and though JUNIUS said to him in his forty-third note,

"If undesignedly I should send you any thing you may think dangerous, judge for yourself, or take any opinion you think proper,"

Involuntary respect, no doubt, would induce the insertion of many articles that, less powerfully recommended, had scarcely found their way to his press. This delusion, on the part of JUNIUS, was not of a nature to be ever avowed. Such a disclosure had not only been an unnecessary sacrifice of the incalculable advantage of a continued mystery, his assumed personal consequence, and his supposed regard for truth; but an almost direct developement of that *particular fact*\* to which he afterwards partly alluded, when, without meaning to be *entirely* understood, he said to the "English nation,"

"I am the sole depository of my own secret, and it shall perish with me."

But we have not done with these private notes.

The reader will recollect, that as early as July 1769, the period when Woodfall first proposed to re-print the *Letters*, JUNIUS intimated his intention, not to write any longer under that signature. From this design he afterwards swerves; but in November 1771, when the plan of re-publication is about to be realized, is found resuming his former determination.

In No. 40, he says to Woodfall,

"At last I have concluded my great work, and I assure you, with no small labour."

What was his *great Work*. And why was the approaching period to *finish his labours*;—his labours as JUNIUS? There is but one answer to these questions: The *great work* was the *clandestine exaltation of De Lolme*. JUNIUS had arrived at the

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\* The fact, that he had been *his own eulogist*.

last scene of the part assigned him. The importance given to his character, was about to be applied to the purpose for which he was introduced into the piece, and it was time to transfer him from the coffee-house to the closet.\*

To the part of his plan which comprized the withdrawing JUNIUS from the *Public Advertiser*, the moment he should have effected the great purpose of his creation, the author inflexibly adhered. The volume appeared on the 3d of March 1772, and in Number 59, (dated March 5, 1772,) we read ;

" If I saw any prospect of uniting the city once more, I would readily continue to labour in the vineyard. Whenever Mr. Wilkes can tell me that such an union is in prospect, he shall hear of me. Faree well."

For this secession, Woodfall had been prepared, by Number 52, (dated Jan. 25, 1772,) where we find the writer, in allusion to a Letter addressed to Lord Barrington, saying,

" Be careful not to have it known to come from me. Such an insignificant creature is not worth the generous rage of JUNIUS."

From that day, though the Duke of Grafton, the Duke of Bedford, Lord Bute, and Lord Mansfield, continued to live, and live in office, JUNIUS never found an object worthy of his generous rage.

The contents of Number 62, (dated May 1772,) are,—

" Pray let this be announced, *Memoirs of Lord Barrington in our next.*"

Keep the author a secret. Number 63, (dated Jan. 19, 1773,) commences with,

" I have seen the signals thrown out for your *old friend and correspondent*. Be assured, that I have had *good reason* for not complying with them."

He then offers as his reason, (which Woodfall, by his answer

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\* The remainder of this note informs us of the writer's wish, that the volumes should appear before the meeting of Parliament, and that all his papers in defence of *Junius* should be inserted. He means the Letters of Philo-Junius. Many others were written by the same pen, in support of Junius, but were *too liberal* not to be dangerous to his object. Philo "is never guilty of the indecorum of praising his principal;" does not, by exhibiting the satirist of others, in the glaring character of a warm self-encomiast, betray a feature which might tempt the reader to suspect, that when Junius is commending De Lolme, he is extolling himself.

appears to have implicitly believed) *the divided state of the city!* "I meant the cause and the public," he adds, but "both are given up."

After March 3, 1772, only five comparatively short Letters were written: two under the signature of *Veteran*, one under that of *Scotus*, one signed *Arthur Tell-Truth*, and one subscribed *Nemesis*.

The real reason of the sudden disappearance of Junius from the newspapers, is, by this mass of private evidence, rendered so flagrant, that ingenuity equal to that of the writer, could not extinguish the light he himself has thrown upon the subject. We have it, as it were, under his own hand, that he was a *foreigner*, had been legally educated, was not in a state of affluence, nor always so correctly informed as he pretended to be; that the *perfect accuracy* of the DEDICATION and PREFACE\* to the forthcoming volumes, was a point of more consideration with him, than the correctness of all the other parts of the publication; and that having accomplished the object of raising up, by the aid of his own commendation, a splendid and permanent voucher of the merits of a work on which he rested for future fame and competence, there was no longer any inducement for retaining him in the sphere in which he had figured.

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\* It deserves to be remembered, that the Dedication and Preface were not the only parts of the publication that were printed from the MS. The whole of the last composition, consisting of extracts from the second and third private Letters of JUNIUS to Mr. Wilkes, and concluding with one of the finest paragraphs of the author, first appear in the publication of the Letters in Volumes. The *proofs*, however, of that composition, JUNIUS never even proposed to be revised, either by Mr. Wilkes or himself.

### CHAPTER III.

*Observations on the Private Letters of JUNIUS to Mr. Wilkes ;  
and the Fac Similies of Junius's hand writing, &c. &c.*

THE order laid down for the progress of this enquiry now leads me to the private correspondence between JUNIUS and Mr. Wilkes.\* It commenced on the part of Junius, in August, 1771.

On this first letter (we are informed by the editor of Mr. G. Woodfall's Edition) is written, in Mr. Wilkes's own hand, the following memorandum :—" Received on Wednesday noon by a chairman, who said, he brought it from a gentleman whom he saw in Lancaster Court, in the Strand."

" J. W."

After what has been observed respecting the mode of Junius's private communication with Woodfall, the reader will not easily suppose the bearer of this Letter to have been any other than JUNIUS himself.

In his first paragraph, the writer, after pointing out the error, of fancying a motive for what is proposed to us, and then making that motive the criterion of the sincerity with which the proposal is made, proceeds to say---

" With regard to me, Sir, any refinement in this way would assuredly mislead you ; and though I do not disclaim the idea of *some views to future honour and advantage* (you would not believe me if I did) yet I can truly affirm, that neither are they little in themselves, nor can they, by any possible conjecture, be collected from my writings."

Here we see JUNIUS---that JUNIUS who elsewhere disowns all personal motives ; whose pride it is to declare his indepen-

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\* Though the observations in the past chapter, concluded the *regular* review of the *Private Notes* of JUNIUS to Woodfall, future references will occasionally, and necessarily be made to the same documents, as well as to those of the present chapter.

dence of station, and perfect freedom from all views of *honor* and *profit* from his writings---confessing that he looks to both ! We see him not only under the influence of these very objects, but rejecting the opinion, *denying* that another could believe, that any man would serve the public, unless urged by such *stimuli*. Of what he himself knew (or thought he knew) such a man as Mr. Wilkes could not be ignorant ; therefore, after unreservedly avowing *that he does not disclaim the idea of serving a private purpose*, both pecuniary and honorary, he adds,

“ You would not believe me if I did.”

But the acknowledged views to *future honour and advantage*, by proving that they were necessary to JUNIUS, coincide with the representation already given of his personal circumstances, and, independently, would support the assertion, that, as he was not purely a disinterested advocate of the public, so neither was he a man of *rank and fortune*.

In the third paragraph of this letter, an instance of peculiarity occurs, to which I would request the reader's particular attention. JUNIUS is remarkably addicted to that personification, or dramatic form of appeal, called the *prosopopœia*. This *figure* presents itself even in this private epistle, no fewer than four times ; repeatedly in his public letters, and also in his other anonymous productions ; and forms so conspicuous a feature in his writings, that did we not find in De Lolme an equal predilection for the same ornament, we must, at least, have confessed *one* striking discordance between the productions bearing the name of the Native of Geneva, and those signed JUNIUS. This similitude is not confined to the mere frequent recurrence of so *marking* a feature ; it extends to the mode of its introduction, the plan of its progression, and the use to which it is turned. The passages of this description in the letter I am considering, lying at this moment under my eye, have led me to take this early notice of a characteristic habit, common to JUNIUS and DE LOLME, which will be better elucidated hereafter. Drawn from their respective stations, and viewed collectively, the several samples will strike with greater force, and bring a more imposing conviction of the unity of their authorship.

After noticing, that in the last paragraph but two of the

first letter to Mr. Wilkes, we, as usual, find the word "mask" spelt masque, (an orthography indicative of the foreigner) I pass to the second. In the eighth paragraph of this epistle, the following passage occurs; "I should be glad to mortify those contemptible creatures who call themselves noblemen." From these words, separately considered, much, perhaps, could not fairly be deduced; but presented to us in conjunction with

"Nothing can be more true than what you say about *great men*; they are indeed a worthless pitiful race,"

(In the last paragraph but one of his sixth letter to Mr. Wilkes)

"I love and esteem the mob,"

(In his tenth to the same gentleman)

"I mean no offence to Mr. Macaroni, nor any of your *gentlemen* authors,"

(In the eleventh of his Miscellaneous Letters)

"I have served under one, and have been forty times promised to be served by the other,"\*

And other similar declarations in his various Epistles, they will not encourage the opinion, that JUNIUS was a nobleman. In the paragraph preceding the postscript to the second letter, we meet with

"I have served Mr. Wilkes, and am still capable of serving him. I have faithfully served the public, *without the possibility of a personal advantage.*"

It appears by the last paragraph of the forty-first note of JUNIUS to Woodfall, that he had not kept copies of his letters to Mr. Wilkes.

"Prevail on Mr. Wilkes,"

He there says,

"To let you have extracts of my second and third letters to him. It will make the book still more new."

"This demonstrates the inadequacy of the acutest mind to desert truth with safety.† He had forgotten his confession in a former letter to Mr. Wilkes, that his labours were prosecuted

\* The late Lord Townshend, and his brother, the Hon. Charles Townshend.

† "To maintain a consistent falsehood, not only demands a genius of invention, but a faithful memory." (Miscellaneous Letter 39, par. 1.)

*with a view to future honour and advantage.* This stubborn instance of duplicity seems to evince the confidence with which the writer was capable of asserting the reverse of any fact, known only to himself.

Such self-opposing declarations could not escape Mr. Wilkes. If they *did*, the encomiastic notices of De Lolme, in the *Preface* to the Letters, were perfectly safe in his hands. But how does this paragraph proceed?

"As JUNIUS, I can never be rewarded. The secret is too important to be committed to any great man's discretion. If views of interest or ambition could tempt me to betray my own secret, how could I flatter myself that the man I trusted would not act upon the same principles, and sacrifice me at once to the King's curiosity and resentment? Speaking, therefore, as a *disinterested* man, I have a claim to your attention."

The remark, *that he could never be rewarded as JUNIUS*, admits the expectation of benefits in some other character. How then, waving what he had acknowledged in a former Letter, could he claim Mr. Wilkes's attention as a *disinterested man*? By inevitable inference, by self-confession, he was not that man. Remuneration was *in prospectu*. But if his secret was *too important to be committed to any great man's discretion*, not from any *great man* could he seek the proposed advantages. Whence, then, were they to flow? From a source not apparently, however really, connected with himself.

We find an expression in the postscript to this Epistle, which ought not to pass unnoticed.

"I am not" he there says, "properly supported in the newspapers." This Letter was written while the volumes were preparing. At such a juncture, every circumstance that could contribute to stimulate and increase the public attention to JUNIUS, was of importance to his object. Whether Mr. Wilkes obeyed this hint, I do not know: but, certainly, a few compliments from such a quarter, especially if avowed, could not fail to wet the public avidity.

In the fifth paragraph of his fourth letter, he says to Mr. Wilkes, in allusion to Mr. W.'s intended mode of attack upon the unconstitutional powers assumed by the House of Lords,

"The constitutional argument is obvious. I wish you to point out to me where you think the force of the *formal legal* argument lies.

In pursuing such inquiries, I lie under a singular disadvantage. Not venturing to consult those who are qualified to inform me, I am forced to collect every thing from books or common conversation."

And in the eighth paragraph,

" Though I use the terms of art, do not injure me so much as to suspect I am a lawyer."

Many passages in the public Letters of JUNIUS indicate that he was, or had been, a member of the legal community; but it is a fact of which we could scarcely have been so *certain*, but from the incessant solicitude he betrays to persuade us of the contrary.

The succeeding paragraph opens with a reply to a passage in the previous letter of Mr. Wilkes, in which he says to JUNIUS,

" I now live very much at home, happy in the elegant society of a sensible daughter, whom JUNIUS has noticed in the most obliging manner."

The answer is,—

" The domestic society you speak of, is much to be envied. I fancy I should like it better than you do."

From this alone we may collect, that JUNIUS was, at least, so far circumstanced like DE LOLME, as to live in a solitary, retired manner. He *should* like domestic society; by consequence, he was a stranger to its enjoyment. He *envies* Mr. Wilkes's family comforts; he could not more explicitly declare his own contrary situation. But he who possesses *rank and fortune* can *command* society. If he be a recluse, he is so by choice, and will not envy the man of social habits.

Mr. Wilkes, having expressed his regard for the personal character with which his imagination has invested JUNIUS, the retort (in the last paragraph of this letter) is,—

" I willingly accept of as much of your friendship as you can impart to a man whom you will assuredly never know. Besides every personal consideration, if I were known, I could no longer be an useful servant to the public."

This letter is dated September 18, 1771. When, in a note to Woodfall, bearing date November 10, 1771, Junius bribed him to his preservation of secrecy and good-faith, by saying,

" Act honourably towards me, and at a proper time, you shall know me ;"\*

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\* Woodfall *did* act honourably towards JUNIUS; but Junius was not equally punctilious.

It was impossible for him to conceive that, some day, both these declarations would stand confronted in print. JUNIUS, on a great occasion, is superior to the fear of falsehood; but the truth often suits him quite as well. When he says, *that if he were known, he could no longer serve the public*, he avails himself of the ambiguity proper to the oracular recess from which he speaks. The assertion might be scrupulously true, without meaning that JUNIUS was a foreigner; and that the discovery of such a fact would, indeed, instantly deprive him of his power to be any longer *an useful servant to the British Public*.<sup>\*</sup> His eighth Letter opens with the expression of his thanks to Mr. Wilkes for his offer of tickets to the ball on Lord Mayor's Day. He declines their acceptance, with the excuse, *that his age and figure†* would do but little credit to *his partner*.<sup>‡</sup>

In the second paragraph of the same communication, we find him saying to the patriot—

“ If I were only a party-man, I should naturally concur in any enterprize likely to create a bustle without *risque* or trouble to myself.”

That he was free from party spirit very clearly appears. Standing, I may say, apart from us all, while he was assuming to be *One of ourselves*, he naturally looked with an impartial eye on all party-men, as such; and devoting to the English Constitution his whole regard, felt no cause of personal attachment, but what belonged to those whom he deemed its real friends and champions. Viewing in Mr. Wilkes, (at this time,) one of its most useful defenders, he says to him,—

<sup>\*</sup> He was too well acquainted with our national prejudices, to believe that we would reverence the admonitions of a Swiss *flamen*, however orthodox, officiating at the shrine of English freedom.

<sup>†</sup> His age was then about thirty-five; his figure Dr. Wolcot has described.

<sup>‡</sup> We are left to be surprized, that Mr. Wilkes, after having been solemnly assured *that he would never know Junius*, should indulge the expectation of seeing him at the Mansion House! A man of half Mr. Wilkes's politeness ought to have felt such an invitation to be interdicted, even though, not having seen the private notes of JUNIUS to Woodfall, it was impossible he should be aware that the *necessary appearance* might be, at that instant, beyond the pretensions of JUNIUS's wardrobe.

"I love the cause independent of persons, and I wish well to Mr. Wilkes independent of the cause."\*

Though the reader should not perceive in this sentiment the feelings and impartiality of a *foreigner*—the native of a free city—deeply studied in the frame and spirit of our constitution, and loving it, because, in *his* eyes, it appeared the noblest bulwark of which liberty could boast;—though, I would observe, this should not be already as clear as the stars in a cloudless night, or the sun at the blaze of noon, I shall not be the less confident of entirely removing from every mind the tenacious veil of doubt. For the inveterate prejudice which DE LOLME felt against the King, so poignantly expressed in this very paragraph,† it is difficult to account, however easily it may be reconciled with his declaration (both in his writings as JUNIUS, and in his anonymous pamphlets) *that he would hazard his life in defence of his title*. When he tells Mr. Wilkes, that whether he assails Lord Bute, or the Princess Dowager of Wales, the King alone is *the mark*, he proves his dislike to be private and *personal*. The affirmation in favour of the King's title is intentionally equivocal. The warmest advocate of the higher branch of the British legislature, but not confounding the regal estate with the individual by whom it happens to be possessed, he, in the same breath, and without resigning his consistency, addresses to His Majesty the bitterest reproaches, and declares, that he would yield his life for the security of his crown.

Requesting the Reader to observe that JUNIUS, by saying, in allusion to his intended attack on Lord Mansfield, for admitting Eyre to bail—

"If I am right in my facts, I answer for my law,"

Affords another argument of his having been *legally* bred, I pass to the closing paragraph of his last Letter to Mr. Wilkes, in which we find him, in answer to that gentleman's request of his assistance in the execution of his plan against the House of Lords, thus expressing himself:—

\* For—"I love the cause *independently* of persons, and I wish well to Mr. Wilkes *independently* of the cause!"

† "It is not Bute, nor even the Princess Dowager. It is \* \* \* \* \* whom every honest man should detest, and every brave man should attack."

" Do not conceive that I solicit new employment. I am overcome with the slavery of writing."

The *extreme labour* with which, confessedly, all the public Letters of JUNIUS were produced, would, at any period of their procedure, have accounted for, and excused their discontinuance : but the author's intimation of his design to *write no more under that signature*, the moment Woodfall first proposed to re-print the Letters,—yet waving that intention, upon the re-publication being deferred; not discovering till a year and a half afterwards, when the volumes were actually issuing from the press, any reasons for resuming his former resolution; and never, after their appearance, writing any more as JUNIUS—are circumstances which the mind cannot view together, without assigning, for the retirement of JUNIUS from the diurnal prints, a cause very different from that professed to Mr. Wilkes, and to Woodfall.

We are now entering upon another species of evidence that De Lolme was Junius;—the evidence presented to us by the *fac similes* of Junius's hand-writing. The force of these, assisted by the weight of natural inference, the reader would find it difficult to resist, even though his incredulity had withstood the proofs already adduced.

The first peculiarity that strikes the inspector of the autographs of JUNIUS, is, their *legal* aspect; the next, their *foreign* air. The ultimate characters of words are, in many instances, drawn out, or protruded, by that dash of the pen to which lawyers, especially at the terminations of their lines, are uniformly habituated: add to this, that words which they seldom give fully; such as *sh'd*, *wo'd*, and *y'r*, are, by JUNIUS, generally so abbreviated; and that, in most instances, the Letters, and in many, even the words, are precipitated into each other, in a mode peculiar to the hands of gentlemen of the law. In one of the autographs of JUNIUS (a note of *sixteen* lines) inserted in Mr. George Woodfall's Edition, we meet with *nineteen* examples of verbal junctions:—and in the short specimen of Mr. Dunning's hand, in the same volume (a note of *seven* lines) we find *fifteen* of the same professional characteristics.

The papers filled with examples of this *legal mark*, are to

be found in the chambers of every barrister, and are as numerous as the documents of lawyers; but I shall confine my attention to the volumes before me. Examining the other autographs with which they present us, I find in the note of General Lee, only *one* instance of this *binding of word with word*: in that of Mr. Boyd, *not any*: in that of Mr. Wilkes, *not any*: in that of Mr. Horne Tooke, *not any*: while that of Mr. Burke, who, though (like De Lolme) *not a practising lawyer*, was (like De Lolme) bred for the bar, presents, in a scroll of only *six* lines, *five* of these professional signs. Add to these appearances, the introduction of the technical word *fee*, in the 47th Private Note to Woodfall, the expression

"The gentleman who transacts the *conveyancing* part,"

In Number 51, and the technical term "*fee-simple*," in the "Dedication to the English Nation," as also in the 37th Miscellaneous Letter. But I have also spoken of the *foreign* air of the autographs of JUNIUS.

One of the distinguishing features of this peculiarity, is, *that* of the opening word of many of the sentences, and sometimes, of the whole composition, having a *small initial*.

The autograph Number 2, commences thus:—

"SIR,

"it is essentially necessary, &c."

And in the body of Number 3, we find the following sentence.

"direct a letter to Mr. William Middleton."

But the small personal pronoun, *i*, as it twice occurs in the *fac simile*, Number 27, which begins with—

"SIR,

"i have rec'd y'r mysterious epistle. i dare say a letter may be safely left at the same place;"

Could not, by any possibility, creep into the writing of an *English* scholar. In *foreigners*, of whatever rank, especially the French, we are used to it, and expect it. JUNIUS, then, was a foreigner.\* But if JUNIUS was a foreigner, what foreigner could

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\* "No;" say those who will not believe it possible that a foreigner could write like JUNIUS, "The introduction of the small personal pronoun was *intended*; was a *disguise*." If these objectors are right, JUNIUS hoped, by this disguise, to pass for a *foreigner*. That is, sensible of the *impossibility* that a *foreigner* could produce such English as that of Junius, he, who wrote it, expected that the author would be *thought* a foreigner!

he be, except De Lolme? What foreigner, except De Lolme, could ever boast that intimate acquaintance with the legal practice, and internal policy, of England, displayed in the LETTERS of JUNIUS? At the time Junius wrote, what foreigner, except De Lolme, had acquired that proficiency in the English idiom, exhibited in his "Essay on the English Constitution," "Parallel between the English and Swedish Governments," "History of the Flagellants, or Memorials of Human Superstition," "British Empire in Europe," and other numerous productions? \* To show that JUNIUS had been bred to the law, is only to prove the possibility, that DE LOLME, who had also been bred to the law, and, speaking generally, wrote admirable English, *might be* the author of the Letters of JUNIUS; but to ascertain that the author of those compositions was a *foreigner*, is to demonstrate, that they *were* written by DE LOLME. Impressed with the cogency of this argument, I was desirous to learn of Mr. George Woodfall, whether his father had ever been addressed by others, as we find him addressed by JUNIUS, in one of the autographs here given—"to Mr. Printer Woodfall." As far as he knew, his father had never been so addressed, except by JUNIUS. None of the numerous Letters of the other correspondents of the *Public Advertiser* are so addressed. This, therefore, like JUNIUS's occasional use of *small initials* in the *first words* of compositions and of paragraphs, as also of *small personal pronouns*, is to be classed with those *slips* to which any foreign scholar writing in our language, and without an incessant attention to our literal punctilios, will be continually liable.—"to Mr. Printer Woodfall."—What is this but French Anglicised in sound? What, but a precise, formal translation of—a *Monsieur l'Imprimeur Woodfall*? What, but a lapse which never happened, never could happen, to any of the other various correspondents of Woodfall; and that, in the immediate question, Whether JUNIUS was a foreigner, or (which amounts to the same) whether DE LOLME was JUNIUS; throws into my scale an additional weight?

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\* The Italian Count, *Carracioli*, whose lucubrations, under the head, "*Bon-ton*," gave, a few years since, such celebrity to the *Town and Country Magazine*, as to produce, while he wrote in that miscellany, a sale of fourteen thousand copies per month, made, however, a near approach to the *English* of De Lolme: and Mr. *Fuseli* has not been a greater ornament to the fine arts, than to our *literature*.

It is also a fact of no trivial import, in this particular part of our evidence, that all the seals used by JUNIUS in his correspondence with Woodfall, are *foreign*.\* To this observation, it will be no counter remark to say, that an Englishman could, as easily as a foreigner, procure foreign seals. The question is not, Whether an Englishman would be able, or unable, but, whether he would be more likely, or unlikely, than a foreigner, to possess, and to use such seals? In the present case, (to say nothing of the obvious resource of a *wafer*,) an *English* impress, carrying any initials, or armorial bearings, except those of the writer, had been equally eligible with a *foreign* one.

Again :—JUNIUS, whoever he was, possessed and used, a *variety* of foreign seals. The autographs are five in number, and each differs from the other four. But admitting that a wafer would not have fully answered the purpose of concealment, and that a foreign impress was an indispensable disguise, *one* foreign seal would have been as efficient as *many*. Consequently, the five seals used by JUNIUS, were not procured for the especial purpose of misleading the printer, but formed a part of the regular and constant implements of his *escrutoir*. But if DE LOLME was JUNIUS, and DE LOLME came to England as early as 1762, or 1763, not only did he bring with him a variety of foreign seals, but, for a considerable number of years, preserved, and continued to use such seals. But, again, in his correspondence, as JUNIUS, he would not use them *all*. *One*, at least, he would reserve for his ordinary purposes. And though when his correspondence with Woodfall ceased, he would as naturally destroy, or lay aside, the *seals*, as he would disuse the *hand*, which he had exclusively employed in that correspondence, he would continue to use the seal, which had served his common occasions.

But if JUNIUS was in the *habit* of using foreign seals, and therefore, would continue to use the seal he had reserved, and DE LOLME was JUNIUS, it ought to be proved by some existing impression of De Lolme's ordinary seal, if such an impression could be found, that it was a *foreign* one. Fortunately, a letter of De Lolme's, dated Jan. 29, 1787, addressed

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\* See the fac similies in Mr. G. Woodfall's edition.

to a gentleman, now living, affords the proof required.\* The *fac simile* of its seal, (given here with the verbal autographs) will not fail to satisfy the reader.

These facts, it is presumed, even though they were unsupported by a thousand collateral circumstances, would go far towards demonstrating, that DE LOLME was JUNIUS.

If the reader compare the autograph numbered 6, in Mr. G. Woodfall's edition, with the other *fac similies* of JUNIUS, he will perceive that JUNIUS was master of more than one handwriting. The autographs of De Lolme, (executed by the same engraver,) show that he possessed the same faculty. This leads us to a new species of proof, that De Lolme was JUNIUS.

A variety of manuscripts (specifications of mechanical inventions, law briefs, and other private papers) written by De Lolme, and left by him in the hands of the late Mrs. Spilsbury, when he last quitted England, exhibit very dissimilar samples of penmanship. Among these was found the original, or rough draught of a letter† sent to Mr. Thelluson, (the late Lord Rendlesham) on the subject of a pamphlet which DE LOLME had been engaged to write in favor of that gentleman's patrimonial claims. This sketch appearing sufficiently assimilated with the general autographs of JUNIUS, I submit to the reader's judgment, the comparison of DE LOLME's *fac simile* with the autographs of JUNIUS, by which it is accompanied, together with the following remarks; requesting him to keep in recollection, that as De Lolme's sketch was written nearly thirty years later than the private notes of JUNIUS, we can, at most, consider it but as containing the *relics* of a former hand; a hand long disused, except by accident, or in memorandums intended only for the writer's own closet.

The characters appear to be a mixture of those of Number 6, and Number 10, of Junius. We will, however, chiefly collate them with those of Number 10.

The circumstance common to De Lolme's manuscript and this of JUNIUS, that will first strike the Reader, will pro-

\* A reference to this gentleman may be obtained from Mr. Sidney:

† This original, Mr. Charles Spilsbury, No. 10, Dorington Street, Cold-Bath Fields, will have pleasure in shewing to any person who may wish to compare it with the impression here given.

bably be, *that almost all the Y's are capitals,\** the *m's* and *n's* also, of both writers, present analogous peculiarities. Not only do they almost uniformly begin with a firm, abrupt stem, unpreceded by any *leading sweep*, or *arch*, but the last descending strokes, instead of corresponding with, or forming parallels to, the previous ones, shoot forward with a precipitate obliquity. These letters, in the words *Pamphlet*, (DE LOLME, line 1,) *more*, *than*, and *mentioned* (line 2) the word *next* (line 3) *morning* (line 4) *flattering*, (line 5) *may*, and *number* (line 6) *next* (line 7) *printer's* (line 8) *Pamphlet* (line 12) *than* (line 13) *than* (line 15) *much* (line 17) *number* (line 19) and *from—from* (line 20) will be found to resemble, in one, or both, of the above features, the same letters as written in the words *cannot* (JUNIUS, No. 10, lines 1, 2,) *come*, *Cavendishes*, *no*, and *end* (line 2) *family* (line 3) *arms*, *on* (line 4) *things* (line 5) *unless* (line 6) *opinion* (line 9) *nothing* (line 10) *am* (line 12) *may* (line 14) *same* (line 15) and *thing*, *communicate* (line 16.) Another similarity between these exemplars will be observed in the small *s's*; most of which drop their latter portions below the general line, or range, of the other letters. Thus—the word *is* (following the word *Pamphlet*, in the first line of DE LOLME) *was*, and *advertisements*, (line 2) *wants* (line 4) *press* (line 5) *copies* (line 6) *sending* (line 7) the name *Spilsbury* (line 8) *yards* (line 9) *published*, *less*, *months*, *waste* (line 13) *was* (line 15) present examples corresponding in this particular, with the words so (JUNIUS, No. 10, line 3) *arms* (line 4) *things* (line 5) *else*, *unless* (line 6) *inquiries* (line 7) *as* (line 13) *convince* (in No. 6, line 1) *publish*, and *guessed* (line 2) *must* (line 3) *assistance*, and *assured* (line 4) *assistance* (line 6) *points* (line 7) *does*, *us*, and *works* (line 8) *constantly* (line 9) *suffer* (line 10) *finished* (line 12) and the name, *Veridicus* (line 13.)†

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\* It having escaped the notice of the ingenious Editor of Mr. G. W.'s edition, that this particularity in Junius was a *mere general habit of the author*, he has scrupulously preserved all the capital Y's found in the manuscripts of the Dedication and Preface, as *intentional distinctions*.

† The Reader, in his comparison of these examples, as seen in DE LOLME, and No. 6 of JUNIUS, will necessarily have noticed, that *m's* and *n's* resembling those in DE LOLME's draught, are as frequent in that autograph as in No. 10.

The next feature of relationship between the hand-writing of DE LOLME and that of JUNIUS, is of a compound description. While in the manuscript of the first, (consisting of twenty-two lines,) there are more than twenty examples of that *verbal junction* so peculiar to *lawyers*; and in No. 10 of the latter, (comprizing seventeen lines,) sixteen specimens of the same particularity, both writers occasionally extend this union to more than two consecutive words; and both connect them by curves, the freedom, form, and general air of which, seem to point out the same penman.\*

The fac simile of De Lolme, placed immediately under Number 6 of JUNIUS, is taken from the margin of a Brief, (De Lolme versus Stockdale.) The *head*, or reference, by exhibiting him in the very act of consulting our law-books, shews us JUNIUS, searching for the authorities adduced in his elaborate Letter to Lord Mansfield, on the subject of bailing Eyre. The *T*, in the word *Title*, no less than the *T*'s in *Trover*, beneath, (the first sample of which word is taken from the same brief, and the second from another,) will be found analogous, not only to the *T*'s in the expression "*The Truth*," taken from No. 8 of the autographs in G. Woodfall's edition, but to the *F*, in the word *For*, in Number 6, line 7, as well as in the word *Things*, in Number 10, line 5, and in several other places in the engraved and unengraved MSS. of JUNIUS. The words *assertion* (from Number 8, line 15,) *assured* (from Number 6, line 4,) *expressly* (from Number 10, line 11,) are given to shew that JUNIUS sometimes, as well as DE LOLME, makes the first of two conjunctive *s*'s, a long one. And the word, *unless* (from Number 10, line 6,) is adduced on account

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\* The Reader, while he views in these verbal combinations, a characteristic at once common to lawyers, and to JUNIUS and DE LOLME, will not fail to notice in both writers, the peculiar application of the technical term, *fee*. JUNIUS; in a private note to his friend Woodfall, assures him, that the volumes he requests, will "be the only *fee* he shall ever desire:" and DE LOLME, in a private Letter to his friend Thelluson, apprizes that Gentleman, that by having the books of *him* [the author] he "will save the publisher's *fees*." Whether any person except a lawyer, and that lawyer a foreigner, would call a presentation of books, a *fee*, or the profits of a bookseller, *fees*, is left to the Reader's decision.

of its *n*, which we might fancy had been traced from that in the word *than* in De Lolme's Letter, (line 13.)

The autograph—"to Mr. Printer Woodfall, in Paternoster row," is adduced, chiefly to enable the Reader to judge of the similarity of the capital *P*'s, as there written by JUNIUS, and the *P*'s of DE LOLME, as seen in the words *Pamphlet* (line 1) *Printer's* (line 8) and in *Pamphlet*, as given again in line 12.

For the copy of JUNIUS's—"Monsieur de Lolme,"—I am indebted to the politeness of Mr. George Woodfall, who readily lent me the original MS. for the purpose of my procuring its fac simile. Whether its characters and general aspect more strongly announce a *Foreign* or an *English* hand, the Reader's judgment will decide. But another important point for consideration, presented by this fac simile, is, the unauthorized form in which JUNIUS has committed to paper, the name of the writer whose work he had studied; but whose work he could not study, without becoming intimately acquainted with the formality or fashion, proper to that writer's signature.

The only edition of the "Essay on the English Constitution," before the Public, when JUNIUS wrote his Preface, (the French edition published in 1770, a copy of which has lately been presented to the British Museum,) contains the author's name in capitals: and by the name of DE LOLME, written by himself in a copy of the same edition, shown me by Messrs. Taylor and Hessey, in Fleet Street, it appears, that his *signature* at that time, as well as since, commenced with a capital; thus—"De Lolme." If, therefore, JUNIUS was not acquainted with the name of De Lolme, as De Lolme wrote it, and, by necessity, copied it from the French edition, he wilfully and doubly deviated from his exemplar: first, in adopting a small initial; and, secondly, by introducing an *apostrophe* after the first L: a formality, the omission of which, in the title page, he might, I grant, attribute to the neglect of the printer; but a formality, (I may observe,) for the introduction of which into the margin of his own Preface, he had only the authority of his single conjecture. If, on the other hand, Junius's eye was familiar with De Lolme's written

signature, he consciously varied from his prototype, not only in adopting a *small initial*, but by interpolating a *mark*, or *sign*, which he *knew* the author himself did not use: In either case, the freedom was unwarrantable; and we have to find for it some adequate object: he had such an object; it was—*disguise*. He who was *Junius, an Englishman, One of Ourselves*, any body but DE LOLME, could not do better than present to us the name of De Lolme, as it had never been given by De Lolme himself. The same stratagem was repeated in the “Parallel between the English and Swedish Constitutions.”\* In *that* work also, the author, (J. L. D. L, L. L. D. an *Englishman, One of Ourselves*, any body but DE LOLME,) gives the name of De Lolme exactly in the same way; and as it had never been *avowedly* given by De Lolme himself.

But the “PARALLEL” we *know* to be De Lolme’s. Here, then, is a new association of De Lolme with JUNIUS. Both authors are anonymously presenting the name of De Lolme as De Lolme himself was never *known* to write it; and both are so giving that name, for the purpose of serving the same individual; the author whom that name, when properly written, legitimately designates. A new, and still stronger light, will hereafter be thrown upon this curious coincidence.

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\* Published, as the Reader will recollect, in 1772; the year following that in which the MS. of Janius’s Preface was put into the hands of Woodfall.

## CHAPTER IV.

### *Remarks on certain particularities in the writings of Junius.*

HAVING shewn in a former chapter, by quotations from the Essay on the English Constitution, that De Lolme possessed a mastery in our language, adequate to the production of such English as we find in Junius, it will not be impertinent to enquire to what extent JUNIUS himself attained the pretensions of a pure and unexceptionable English writer.\*

To relieve the subject, we will reverse its difficulty; suppose that JUNIUS, instead of having assured us, that he was, "*One of Ourselves*," had proclaimed himself a *foreigner*; and that, undertaking to disprove his assertion, the author of this work, in debate with a critic, had been so unfortunate as to select the following passages.

#### AUTHOR.

That JUNIUS was *not* a foreigner, is testified by the purity of his English.

"Dedication to the English Nation."

"I dedicate to you a collection of letters written by One of yourselves, for the common benefit of us all. They would never have grown to this size, without your continued encouragement and applause."

#### CRITIC.

"I dedicate to you a collection of letters written by one of yourselves!" That is,—"*I dedicate to you a collection of letters, written, not by me, but by one of you, to whom I dedicate*

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\* The Editor of Mr. G. Woodfall's edition, commenting upon the style of Junius's lucubrations, observes, that—"Of those who have critically analyzed the style of his compositions, some have pretended to prove, that he must necessarily have been of Irish descent, or Irish education, from the *peculiarity of his idioms*; while, to shew how little dependence is to be placed upon such observations, others have equally pretended to prove, from a similar investigation, that he could not have been a native either of Scotland or Ireland, nor have studied in any university of either of those countries." (See p. 86 of the Preliminary Essay.)

them." Speaking in the *first* person, as the dedicator, and making some *second* person (one of those to whom he dedicates) the author of the work dedicated, he separates the author from the dedicator. Had he said,—“I dedicate to you a collection of letters written by one of *ourselves*,” he had at once included himself, as the *author*, in the community by one of which the letters were professed to be *written*, and as the *dedicator*, divided himself from those of the community to whom he dedicated his work.

AUTHOR.

I perceive. What think you of—“They would never have grown to this size, without your continued encouragement and applause?”

CRITIC.

*There*, as a companion to the confusion of *persons*, we have a confusion of *numbers*. The noun singular ‘*collection*,’ demanded the pronoun *It*, not *they*. If you will have “a *collection* of letters,” understood plurally, then “*grown to this size*,” must be applied to the letters separately; and then the sense will be, that *each letter* had *grown to its size*, by the public encouragement and applause! Again: the meanness of the word *size* is repulsive. If he *would* have *they*, he should have said, “They would never have so *accumulated* without your continued encouragement and applause.”

AUTHOR.

Better, perhaps. “To me they originally owe nothing, but a healthy sanguine constitution. Under *your* care they have thriven. To *you* they are indebted for whatever strength or beauty they possess.”

CRITIC.

They owed to the *continued public encouragement* their *continued procedure*; but it was to *his* care, not that of the *English nation*, that they were indebted, for their *strength* and *beauty*. *Protection*, not *care*, was the word required.

AUTHOR.

“When Kings and Ministers are forgotten—”

CRITIC.

When will that be? “*present* Kings and ministers,” he means.

AUTHOR.

Yes. An accident. “When you leave the unimpaired, hereditary freehold to your children, you do but half your duty.”

CRITIC.

What hereditary freehold ? he has not yet spoken of any. We are left to suppose that he means our *political constitution*. But how will the present generation, by leaving to their children the constitution unimpaired, have done but half their duty ?

AUTHOR.

He tells you. "Both liberty and property," says he, "are precarious, unless the possessors have sense and spirit to defend them."

CRITIC.

Oh !—Not only must they leave the constitution unimpaired ; but they must defend their liberty and property ! I wish Junius had explained, how they would be able to leave the constitution unimpaired, unless they defended their liberty and property. If they leave the constitution unimpaired, its preservation will prove that they *have* defended their liberty and property : and then again, they will have done, not *half* only, but the *whole* of their duty.

AUTHOR.

True.—An accident. "This is not the language of vanity."

CRITIC.

That sentence should have immediately followed, "This book will, I believe, be found to contain principles worthy to be transmitted to posterity." How could Junius be chargeable with *vanity*, for telling us that "liberty and property are precarious ?"

AUTHOR.

I cannot say. "One precedent creates another. They soon accumulate, and constitute law. What yesterday was fact, to-day is doctrine. Examples are supposed to justify the most dangerous measures, and where they do not suit exactly, the defect is supplied by analogy."

CRITIC.

Here the whole disposition is faulty. The *third* sentence, not the *second*, is illustrative of the *first* ; and in the latter part of the passage, the means succeed the consequence. It should have stood thus,—

AUTHOR.

What ! Again correcting JUNIUS !

CRITIC.

"One precedent creates another : what yesterday was fact, to-day is doctrine. Examples quickly accumulate, and con-

stitute law. Where they do not suit exactly, the defect is supplied by analogy, and made to justify the most dangerous measures."

AUTHOR.

"The King may possibly be advised to dissolve the present parliament a year or two before it expires of course, and precipitate a new election, in hopes of taking the nation by surprize."

CRITIC.

When the King dissolves the parliament, it as positively expires *of course*, as when it expires naturally.

To what, then, do the words of JUNIUS amount? That by the advice of his ministers, the King may cause the parliament to expire *of course* a year or two before it *expires of course*. Had he said, the King may possibly be advised to *dissolve the parliament a year or two before its natural expiration*," his meaning would have been more clear, and his expression less colloquial.

AUTHOR.

"The right of juries to return a general verdict, in all cases whatsoever, is an essential part of our constitution, not to be controuled or limited by the judges, nor in any shape questionable by the legislature."

CRITIC.

With the natural talents and taste of JUNIUS, only a *foreigner* could have written that sentence. "Not to be *controuled or limited by the judges*, nor in any shape *questionable* by the legislature" is jargon that you will not find in any English author. Besides, "the right of juries to return a general verdict" was or was not, questionable by the legislature. If the right *was* questionable by the legislature, the right of the legislature to question it could not be disputed; and if the right *was not* questionable by the legislature, the legislature could not question it. The passage, to be sense, (and sense in English, JUNIUS would never have failed to write, had he been an Englishman) should have stood thus:—"The right of juries to return a general verdict, in all cases whatever, is an essential part of our constitution, not to be controuled or limited by the judges, nor in any shape *questioned* by the legislature."

AUTHOR.

"When we say that the legislature is *supreme*, we mean that it

is the highest power known to the constitution :—That it is the highest, in comparison of the other subordinate powers established by the laws. In this sense, the word *supreme* is relative, not absolute."

CRITIC.

If the supreme power of the legislature is the highest in comparison with the other powers, it is so in relation to those powers ; and the writer need not have added that information. But his bounty, not contented with instructing us, that the power of the legislature is supreme, only as a *comparative* power, proceeds to apprise us also, that it is supreme only as a *relative* power ! " In this sense" says he, [its *comparative* sense,] " the word supreme is *relative*, not absolute." That is, " in the sense in which it is *comparative* it is relative ; or, in the sense which I *have already* given it, it bears the sense which I *now* give it."

AUTHOR.

*English* writers have faultered as much.

CRITIC.

Bad ones have.

AUTHOR.

" They [King, Lords, and Commons] might unite the legislative and executive power in the same hands, and dissolve the constitution by an act of parliament."

CRITIC.

To say nothing of the noun singular, *power*, for *powers*, King Lords and Commons could not unite the legislative and executive authorities in the same hands, and then dissolve the constitution ; because, by such an act of the parliament, the constitution would be already dissolved.

Not saying, " and *thus* dissolve the constitution," he has missed the intended illustration of his proposition, and re-dissolved the constitution.

AUTHOR.

An accident. " I am persuaded you will not leave it to the choice of seven hundred persons, notoriously corrupted by the crown, whether seven millions of their equals shall be freemen or slaves."

CRITIC.

" Whether seven millions of their equals, shall, or shall not be, free men or slaves," would have been sense ;—would have been English.

AUTHOR.

" The certainty of forfeiting their own rights, when they sacrifice those of the nation, is no check to a brutal, degenerate mind."

## CRITIC.

Do the plural antecedents *their* and *they*, accord exactly with the relative singular, *a brutal and degenerate mind*?

## AUTHOR.

"*Brutal and degenerate minds*," he meant to say. An accident.

"To preserve the whole system, you must correct your legislature. With regard to any influence of the constituent over the conduct of the representative, there is little difference between a seat in parliament for seven years and a seat for life."

## CRITIC.

For *of*, in the first member of the second sentence, read, *it affords*, and you will provide the pronoun and verb necessary to *a seat in Parliament for seven years*; and connect that seat with the little influence which the constituent is intimated to obtain over a representative who is elected for so long a term.

## AUTHOR.

"With regard to any influence *it affords* the constituent," would have been more to his point, I acknowledge. But mark:—"The prospect of your resentment is too remote;—"

## CRITIC.

Resentment? Resentment for what? No dereliction of duty has yet been described, or mentioned.

## AUTHOR.

An accident. "If you reflect that in the changes——"

## CRITIC.

For heaven's sake, hold! Not that endless paragraph; a paragraph which, as far as concerns its *whole* texture and *construction*, would (to parody a phrase in his own preface) *disgrace the pen of a school-boy*. What he says between, "*If you reflect, that in the changes of administration, which have marked and disgraced the present reign*," and, "*yet that no one man in office has ever promoted or encouraged a bill for shortening the duration of parliaments*," is purely parenthetical; therefore, we may fairly read the passage thus:—"If you reflect *that* in the changes of administration, which have marked and distinguished the present reign, *yet that* no one man in office has ever promoted or encouraged, &c. &c." To omit the parenthetical matter is to remove the veil that has hitherto concealed an egregious anomaly.

## AUTHOR.

Since the Dedication is so unfortunate with you, what hope for the Preface? Better to pass to the Letters. "A leading minister repeatedly called down, for absolute ignorance;—ridiculous motions ridiculously withdrawn; deliberate plans disconcerted, and a week's preparation of graceful oratory lost in a moment, give us some though not adequate idea, of Lord North's parliamentary abilities." (Let. 1, par. 6.)

## CRITIC.

Only a foreigner, I should think, would have been liable to omit the requisite indefinite article. "Give us some though not *an* adequate idea," would have given us some, and a *higher* idea, of JUNIUS, as an English grammarian.

## AUTHOR.

An accident. Hear how he expresses himself, respecting the Duke of Grafton. "He became minister by accident; but deserting the principles and professions which gave him a moment's popularity, we see him, from every honourable engagement to the public, an apostate by design." (Idem. idem.)

## CRITIC.

That is—"we deserting the principles which gave him a moment's popularity, see him an apostate;" for the construction forbids our giving one nominative to the participle *deserting*, and another to the verb *see*. Again: "we see him *from* every honourable engagement to the public an *apostate*," beside that it presents a *model for elegant collocation*, is almost as good grammar, and as good English, as an "engagement to the public."

## AUTHOR.

Say how an *Englishman* would have written it.

## CRITIC.

"He became minister by accident; but deserting the principles and professions which gave him a moment's popularity, apostatized by design, from every honourable engagement *with* the public."

## AUTHOR.

"In one view, behold——the administration of justice become odious and suspected to the whole body of the people." (Idem. par. 14.)

## CRITIC.

——the administration of justice become odious *to*, and suspected *by* the whole body of the people" had been English. However, *suspecté à tout le peuple*, is very good French.

## AUTHOR.

"And if the discipline of the army be in any degree preserved, what thanks are due to a man, whose cares, notoriously confined to filling up vacancies, have degraded the office of Commander-in-Chief, to a broker of commissions?" (Idem. par. 10.)

## CRITIC.

I can comprehend how possible it is, that a Commander-in-Chief should degrade his office to *that* of a broker of commissions; but do not so clearly perceive, how a Commander-in-Chief, or, indeed, any commander, should degrade his office to the *broker himself*.

## AUTHOR.

An accident. You recollect the admirable memento to Sir William Draper? "From the lessons I have given you, you may collect a profitable instruction for your future life." (Let. 7, par. ult.)

## CRITIC.

If "*a profitable instruction*" is, in *England*, a vernacular phrase, I learn something from this *admirable memento*. "From *the* instruction I have given you, you may collect some profitable lessons for your future life," had been English.

## AUTHOR.

I will not defend the indefinite *article*. An accident. "You apply yourself immediately to the feelings of your friends, who, contrary to the forms of parliament, never enter heartily into a debate, until they have divided." (Let. 12, par. 1).

## CRITIC.

"You *apply* yourself immediately to the feelings!" But I see: *Vous vous appliquez*, for you *appeal* to—Again, very good *French*.

## AUTHOR.

"You have now a strength sufficient to command the closet; and, if it be necessary to betray one friendship more, you may set even Lord Bute at defiance." (Idem. par. 6).

## CRITIC.

"You have *a* strength sufficient" is a more faithful translation, (because a translation more to the *letter*) of *Vous avez une force suffisante*, than any Englishman would have adopted. The retention of the *article* is something worse than cumbrous and inelegant. "*A* strength sufficient" is as chaste English, as would be *a strength enough*.

## AUTHOR.

An accident. "Since you were permitted to take the lead, we have seen the natural effects of a system of Government, at once both odious and contemptible." (Idem. par. penult.)

## CRITIC.

The subjunctive preterite, *were*, in this example, would form but a frail basis for JUNIUS's pretensions as an *English* grammarian. But what do you yourself think of "at once both odious and contemptible?" Would not the omission of the preposition *both*, have been at once both more terse, and less tautological?

## AUTHOR.

Surely in so polished, so pure a writer as JUNIUS, I shall find some samples to defy objection. "He could not foresee, that you would even speak upon the question, much less could he foresee, that you would maintain a direct contradiction of that doctrine, which you had solemnly, disinterestedly, and upon soberest reflection, delivered to the public." (Let. 18, par. 5.)

## CRITIC.

"He could not foresee, that you would *even speak*, would infer that the *speaker* alluded to, was not only in a situation to do something *else* than *speak*, but something of more importance than *speaking*. JUNIUS's meaning required him to say, *that Mr. Grenville, far from being able to foreknow that Sir William Blackstone would speak as he did, could not even be certain that he would speak at all*. A contradiction, as an opposing position, demands the preposition *to*, between itself and the position contradicted: a direct contradiction of that doctrine, is making the contradiction an *appurtenance* of that doctrine." A direct contradiction *to* that doctrine," had expressed his sense, and been grammar.

## AUTHOR.

But a bad grammarian is not necessarily a *Foreigner*.

## CRITIC.

Only a foreigner, supposing so superior a writer as JUNIUS, generally, could be liable to anomalies of this kind. But I have not done. What say you to "*upon soberest reflection?*" Could an *English* author, have omitted the definite article? Could he have avoided saying, "*upon the soberest reflection?*"

## AUTHOR.

An accident. "I could never have a doubt, in law or reason, that a

man convicted of a high breach of trust, and of a notorious corruption, in the execution of a public office, was, and ought to be, incapable of sitting in the same parliament." (Let. 20, par. 4.)

CRITIC.

Respecting "*a* notorious corruption," I shall only observe, that it is just as powerful a proof, (because exactly that proof) that Junius was a native writer, as we have already had in "*a* profitable instruction."

AUTHOR.

You will not be satisfied. With my next example be as rigid as you please. "The conclusion of his book is candid to an extreme." (Idem. par. 8.)

CRITIC.

"Candid to *an* extreme" is only subject to the remark, that, to the honour of our literature, no Englishman would have written it. The extreme of any thing is positive, and consequently rejects the indefinite article. "*In the* extreme" is, therefore, our settled phrase.

AUTHOR.

Pre-determined opposition. Even JUNIUS's luminous judgment must have been pleased with what I will now repeat. Of a supposed virtuous Duke of Bedford, he says, "His own honour would have forbidden him from mixing his private pleasures, or conversation, with Jockies, Gamesters, Blasphemers, Gladiators, or Buffoons." (Let. 23, par. 5.)

CRITIC.

Besides that I find it difficult to imagine, that a modern *English* author would have blended the prize-fighters of ancient Rome with the jockies and gamesters of his own country and times, and that it appears to me, that "jockies, gamesters, blasphemers, *boxers*, and buffoons," would have formed a somewhat more homogenous catalogue, I cannot readily conceive how any Duke of Bedford could mix his pleasures with these *characters*, or with any *characters*. He might mingle his pleasures with *those* of jockies, &c. but the problem to be solved is, how he could mingle his pleasures with the *jockies themselves*.

AUTHOR.

An accident. "He would then have never felt, much less would he have submitted, to the humiliating, dishonest necessity of engaging in the interests and intrigues of his dependants, of supplying their

vices, or relieving their beggary, at the expence of his country." (Idem. idem.)

## CRITIC.

Necessity does not include in itself, either virtue or vice. A man *may* labour under a *humiliating*, but *cannot* under a *dishonest*, necessity. If his necessity render him dishonest, the dishonesty that is in *him* was never in his *necessity*. The spur that urges the steed is devoid of the spirit it excites. But this is a solecism that brings no proof of the *foreign birth and education* of the author; the demonstration of those we must seek in the expression,—“*supplying* their vices.” JUNIUS evidently meant, “*encouraging* their vices,” or “*administering* to their appetites:” but “*Suppléer a leurs vices*,” was the source of this Gallicism.

## AUTHOR.

You feel for the honour of British literature, yet deny it the glory of including in it the lucubrations of JUNIUS! “My Lord,” he says to the same Duke, “we are too well acquainted with your pecuniary character, to think it possible that so many public sacrifices should have been made without some private compensations.” (Idem. par. 7.)

## CRITIC:

The British *literati* are instructed, if not *honoured*, by JUNIUS. To *his discovery* they owe, from *his example* acquire, the knowledge, that a *character* can be *pecuniary*.

## AUTHOR.

An accident. “After two years submission, you thought you had collected a strength sufficient to——” (Idem. par. 8.)

## CRITIC.

Again! “*A* strength sufficient!”

## AUTHOR.

An accident.—“In this case, I am sorry to see, not so much the folly of youth, as the spirit of the corps, and the connivance of government.” (Let. 30, par. 3.)

## CRITIC.

*L'esprit de corps*, is a phrase so purely, so exclusively *French*, that no *Englishman* could have thought of dressing it in his own language; of infusing into his vernacular tongue so exotic a spirit. An *Englishman* had taken the sense, body and soul, or not at all.

## AUTHOR.

A Gallicism, I grant. "A general officer calls upon the King's own guard, then actually on duty, to rescue him from the laws of his country; yet at this moment he is in a situation no worse than if he had not committed an offence, equally enormous in a civil and military view." (Idem. par. 2.)

## CRITIC.

"He is in a situation no worse," is elegant "to an extreme." Yet I seem to feel, that it would have been not less beautiful, and quite as good English, had the phrase been, *He is in no worse a situation,*—or—*His situation is no worse.*

## AUTHOR.

Better. But his expression is not foreign. "Without dwelling longer upon a most invidious subject, I shall leave it to military men, who have seen a service more active than the parade, to determine, whether or no I speak truth." (Idem. par. 3.)

## CRITIC.

One military service may be more active than another; but I am too dull to comprehend, how any *service* can be more active than a *parade*.

## AUTHOR.

Than *that* of the parade, he meant. An accident. "With what countenance dare you appear in the royal presence, branded as you are with the infamy of a notorious breach of trust?" (Let. 34, par. 2.)

## CRITIC.

"With *what* countenance," indeed! Yet the Duke of Grafton had but *one* countenance with which to "appear in the royal presence." What is this, but a *foreign* edition of, *How will you have the face to appear in the royal presence?*

## AUTHOR.

Suspicious, I confess. But hear what JUNIUS says to the king, respecting Mr. Wilkes's attack upon Lord Bute:—"A man not very honourably distinguished in the world, commences a formal attack upon your favourite, considering nothing but how he might best expose his person and principles to detestation, and the national character of his country-men to contempt. The natives of that country, Sir, are as much distinguished by their peculiar character, as by your Majesty's favor." (Let. 35, par. 7.)

## CRITIC.

The natives of what country? None has been named.

## AUTHOR.

True.—No antecedent ! 'An accident. In allusion to his Majesty's resentment of the patriot's conduct, we find him saying,—“ Is this a contention worthy of a King ? Are you not sensible how much the meanness of the cause gives an air of ridicule to the serious difficulties into which you have been betrayed ?” (Idem. idem.)

## CRITIC.

“ Are you not sensible how much the meanness of the cause gives an air,” is neither English nor Irish: I say *Irish*, because the numerous slips, both in grammar and idiom, that were never justly accounted for, have subjected JUNIUS to the suspicion, that he was a native of the Sister Island. “ Do you not perceive what an air of ridicule the meanness of the cause gives to the serious difficulties into which you have been betrayed ?” would not have betrayed the *foreigner*.

## AUTHOR.

I admit the oddity of his arrangement. But hear what he says of Mr. Wilkes, in allusion to the improbability that he will subject himself to royal revenge, by any infraction of the laws :—“ The lessons he has received from experience, will guard him from such excess of folly.” (Idem. idem.)

## CRITIC.

“ Such excess of folly” has remained, and will remain one of the exclusive ornaments of JUNIUS. “ *Such excessive folly*,” or “ *Such an excess of folly*,” would——

## AUTHOR.

Yes,—he omits the article. An accident. This also he addresses to the King :—“ The name of Stuart, of itself, is only contemptible :—armed with the sovereign authority, their principles are formidable.” (Idem. par. ult.)

## CRITIC.

I recollect the passage,—the puerile meanness of “ The name of Stuart *of itself*,” and the plural possessive, *their*, without any antecedent.

## AUTHOR.

The unprepared pronoun escaped me. Speaking of one effect of the accession of the Bourbon family to the throne of Spain, he says, —“ Unity of possession introduced a unity of politics, and Lewis the Fourteenth had reason when he said to his grandson, ‘ *The Pyrenees are removed*.’” (Let. 43, par. 2.)

## CRITIC.

"Louis the Fourteenth *had reason* when he said,—" The very passage that first informed me of JUNIUS's *foreign birth and education*! "*had reason*," (*avoit raison*) for—*was right*! Could he have given us better *French in English terms*? Could he have more satisfactorily proclaimed himself not "One of ourselves."

## AUTHOR.

I will not dissemble my surprise—at so many accidents. Your attention to what he here says to the Duke of Grafton: "But in the relation you have borne to this country, you have no title to indulgence; and if I had followed the dictates of my own opinion, I should not have allowed you the respite of a moment." (Let. 36, par. 1.)

## CRITIC.

The Duke of Grafton had recently resigned the office of First Lord of the Treasury; but would never have been reminded, by any Englishman, of *the relation he had borne to this country*. Of his late *situation* as a minister; of the services that *situation* had entitled his country to expect from his exertions, he might have heard; but not of his late *relation to this country*. This expression, like "*the respite of a moment*," (*le repit d'un moment*) for, *a moment's respite*, conveys, in *French phraseology*, what, speaking on the same subject, we should mean by our own.

## AUTHOR.

Do you not go a great way after trifles? Hear how finely JUNIUS says to the same Duke,—"*The vices operate like age*,—bring on disease before its time, and in the prime of youth, leave the character broken and exhausted." (Idem, par. 2.)

## CRITIC.

Do the vices operate *like age*?

## AUTHOR.

Yes.

## CRITIC.

And does age bring on disease *before its time*?

## AUTHOR.

No.

## CRITIC.

Then the vices do not. But Junius says they do. But if

the vices operate like age, age operates like the vices, and not only brings on disease before its time, but in the prime of youth! Another question. Did you ever hear an Englishman talk of an *exhausted* character?

AUTHOR.

Certainly not?

CRITIC.

Of a *broken* character?

AUTHOR.

Never. "Whatever be the real views and doctrines of a court, the Sovereign should be taught to preserve some forms of attention to his subjects, and if he will not redress their grievances, not to make them a topic of jest and mockery among lords and ladies of the bed-chamber." (Idem. par. 3.)

CRITIC.

I am afraid, that a *topic of jest among lords and ladies*, is a tissue of exotic impurity. "A topic of *jest*," for "a topic of *jesting*" is an expression just as legitimate as would be "a topic of *laugh*" for "a topic of *laughter*," or "a topic of *sigh*" for "a topic of *sorrow*." "A topic of *jesting* and *mockery*" would have been so much better than "a topic of *jest* and *mockery*," as only to exhibit the impropriety of the possessive, *of*, where grammar required the preposition, *for*.

AUTHOR.

Accidents. "To what an abject condition have you laboured to reduce the best of princes, when the unhappy man, who yields to such personal instance ——" (Idem, idem.)

CRITIC.

No further. Refer me to a single passage in any *English* author, in which, one person is said to have *yielded to another's instance*, and I will call your JUNIUS a Briton.

AUTHOR.

An accident. Speaking of the declarations in a certain royal speech, he says, "I affirm that they are absolutely unsupported in argument or fact." (Let. 37, par. 3.)

CRITIC.

Meaning by "absolutely unsupported in argument," that His Majesty's declarations were not argumentatively maintained, he should have said, that they were "absolutely unsupported *by argument*;" and, intending, by "unsupported in

fact" to assert that they were *without the support* of fact, he should have said, that they were unsupported *by* fact.

AUTHOR.

In two places, the preposition *in*, for the preposition *by*. Accidents.---

CRITIC.

—Of a *foreigner*, writing in the English language. With our Gallic neighbours, *in* (*en*) in one of its significations, is synonymous with our *by*. *En raisonnement*, *by* argument : *en fait*, *by* fact.

AUTHOR.

"I think myself obliged to do this justice to an injured man, because I was deceived by the appearances thrown out by your Grace, and have frequently spoken of his conduct with indignation." (Let. 36, par. 6.)

CRITIC.

Junius's meaning was liberal : but what is his *language* ? He thinks himself obliged to do justice to an injured man, because, deceived by appearances thrown out against him by the Duke of Grafton, he had frequently spoken of that man's conduct with indignation. If, then, the appearances thrown out against Vaughan, not deceiving JUNIUS, had not induced him to speak of his conduct with indignation, he would not, however poor Vaughan might have suffered from the appearances thrown out, have thought himself obliged to do justice to an injured man !

AUTHOR.

He meant to say, that, for the reasons stated, he thought himself the more obliged to do this justice to an injured man.

CRITIC.

Yes ; and I wish he had said so. By the passage as it stands, *appearances are thrown out* not only against the *taste*, but the *justice* of the author.

AUTHOR.

You take advantage of an accident. So finished a writer, I allow, should have sought a more chaste expression. But *appearances thrown out* is not *foreign*. "Whether the remonstrance be or be not injurious to Parliament, is the very question between the Parliament and the people, and such a question as cannot be decided by the assertion of a third party, however respectable. (Let. 37, par. 3.)

CRITIC.

"Is the very question between the Parliament and the

people," does not express his own idea. His *meaning* was (what it should be, and what the context shows it to have been) not that the question "Whether the remonstrance was insulting or disrespectful to Parliament, was the *very* question, the *only* question, between the Parliament and the people;" but, that it was "a question *simply* between the Parliament and the people; a question in which no third party was entitled to interfere.

AUTHOR.

Clearly. An accident. "I know there is another sort of loyalty, of which his Majesty has had plentiful experience." (Let. 38, par. 2.)

CRITIC.

"Plentiful experience!" Of a *plentiful harvest*, a *plentiful year*, and a *plentiful fortune*, I have heard; but never of *plentiful knowledge*, *plentiful instruction*, or "*plentiful experience*." No persuasion, however *plentiful*, will induce my belief that this sentence was written by "*One of ourselves*." But for a proof that JUNIUS is as consistent in his metaphors as chaste in his diction, you should have finished the paragraph. We then should have found *poison* tainting *benevolence*, and *councils* corrupting *stamina*.

AUTHOR.

I recollect. How would you improve the text?

CRITIC.

By two transpositions: "When their insidious counsels have perverted the natural benevolence of his disposition, when the poison of their doctrines has tainted the *stamina* of his government, what antidote can restore him to his political health and honour, but the firm sincerity of his English subjects?"

AUTHOR.

As well---I confess. How keen he is here upon Welbore Ellis! "One would imagine that some fatality hung over this gentlem n. Whether he makes or suppresses a motion, he is equally sure of his disgrace." (Idem, par. 4.)

CRITIC.

"Sure of *his* disgrace!" Where is the *Englishman*, *Irishman*, or *Scotchman*, who would not have been satisfied with omitting the possessive pronoun, and simply saying, *he was sure of disgrace*? What *Englishman*, *Irishman*, *Scotchman*, or *American*, could possibly have blundered on its introduction?

## AUTHOR.

An accident. Mark this illustration of what he has just been saying concerning the Middlesex Election. "No man regards an eruption upon the surface, when the noble parts are invaded, and he feels a mortification approaching to his heart." (Let. 39, par. ult.)

## CRITIC.

Contenting ourselves with the phrase, a *mortification approaching the heart*, we have left to Junius the pleonastic elegance of "a mortification approaching to the heart. To *approximating to*, custom has long since reconciled us; but *approaching to*, is —

## AUTHOR.

— An accident. With what severity he speaks of Mr. Wilkes's electioneering opponent! "They will not submit to be garbled by Colonel Luttrell. As a mischief to the English Constitution (for he is not worth the name of an enemy) they already detest him." (Let. 40, par. 3.)

## CRITIC.

I remember. "*They* will not submit?" Who? No fewer than five distinct sentences have intervened, to cut off the communication of this solitary pronoun with "*the People of England*." But again,—"*The Colonel is not worth the name of an enemy!*" I wish, for our honour, that "*One of Ourselves*" had written *worthy* instead of *worth*. *Il ne vaut pas le nom d'un ennemi*, is good French: and, "he is not *worthy* the name of an enemy," would have been genuine *English*.

## AUTHOR.

You have a moment's triumph. To Lord Mansfield, the satyrist says,—"*The mischiefs you have done this country, are not confined to your interpretation of the laws.*" (Lett. 41, par. antepenult.)

## CRITIC.

A long and important paragraph of one of Junius's most laboured compositions, commencing with, "*The mischiefs you have done this country,*" presents a most formidable proof of Junius's *English* birth and education!

## AUTHOR.

You object to *mischiefs*.—An accident. Hear the opening sentence of the succeeding Letter. "If we recollect in what manner the *King's friends* have been constantly employed, we shall have no

reason to be surprized at any condition of disgrace, to which the once respected name of Englishman may be degraded." (Let. 42, par. 1.)

CRITIC.

Of various *degrees* "of disgrace," I have heard; never of the several "*conditions* of disgrace;" nor of a "*name degraded to a condition* of disgrace," or to any other *condition*. Foreigners will assert their *exclusive right* to this "*condition of disgrace*," and no Englishman dispute it.

AUTHOR.

"The whole plan," says JUNIUS, alluding to the seizure of Falkland Island, "seems to have been formed and executed, in consequence of deliberate orders, and a regular instruction from the Spanish court." (Idem, par. 2.)

CRITIC.

"A regular instruction!" For my opinion of that idiom, I must refer you to my comment upon "a profitable instruction."

AUTHOR.

Accidents. Hear this. "The King of France's present aversion from war, and the distraction of his affairs, are notorious. He is now in a state of war with his people. In vain did the Catholic King solicit him to take part in the quarrel against us. His finances were in the last disorder." (Idem, par. 8.)

CRITIC.

Enough! enough! *The disorder or derangement of his affairs* would have been English; but "*the distraction of his affairs*," requires not to be *called* French. Of—"His finances were in the *last disorder*," what shall I say?

AUTHOR.

I will not advocate the expression. He meant "*the utmost disorder*;" but the hurry of writing, —

CRITIC.

Yes;—an accident.

AUTHOR.

The idiomatic propriety of *this* passage defies criticism. "If, however, it could be proved, from considerations of necessity or convenience, that an unlimited power of commitment ought to be intrusted to the House of Commons, and that, *in fact* they have exercised it without opposition, still, in contemplation of law, the presumption is strongly against them." (Let. 44, par. 7.)

## CRITIC.

"If, however, it could be proved, from considerations of necessity and convenience," is a phrase which you had no necessity to bring under consideration; and it would have proved more convenient to your cause, if you had not. That which is to be proved, must be proved by something: but JUNIUS's language supposes, that it can be proved from something; and again supposes that something to be the "consideration of necessity and convenience." But not only is that which is to be proved, obliged to be proved by something; but that something must be either a fact, or an argument. Had JUNIUS said, "If, however, it could be proved, by arguments founded on necessity or convenience, or, by arguments deduced from considerations of necessity and convenience," his sense would have been sound, and his phraseology legitimate. Again: making "*the House of Commons*," (a substantive singular,) the antecedent to the plural pronoun, "*they*" if not licentious, is untasteful; the less excusable, too, as it was so easily avoidable: *it has been exercised*, instead of "*they have exercised it*," would have saved the anomaly. The expression, "in contemplation of law," is foreign. No English author would have omitted the definite article required between the first and second word. JUNIUS, however, has omitted it, and thereby left on record, another striking example of that idiomatic propriety for which you prepared me.

## AUTHOR.

An accident. "The miser himself seldom lives to enjoy the fruit of his extortion; but his heir succeeds to him of course, and takes possession without censure." (Let. 46, par. ult.)

## CRITIC.

When a man dies, his heir succeeds to his estate. Was the deceased a husband? He who marries his relic, succeeds to her; but neither of these successors succeeds to him. "His heir succeeds to him," is more than an inelegant pleonasm, and excusable only in a foreigner.

## AUTHOR.

I will not defend it.—"I was led to trouble you with these observations by a passage, which, to speak in interesting, I met with this morning in the course of my reading, and upon which I mean to put a question to the advocates for privilege." (Let. 48, par. 2.)

## CRITIC.

I recollect. The Duke of Grafton having once, in Parliament, introduced a remark with—"An observation I met with this morning in the course of my reading,"—JUNIUS made a reference to his Grace's words, one of his standing sarcasms. Wishing to vary his own introductory language—"To speak with the Duke of Grafton," and thinking of the Duke's ribbon, he here says—"To speak in lutestring." But to adopt such a phrase is, I imagine, *not* to speak as the Duke of Grafton, or any other Englishman, ever spoke. The vulgarism of *lutestring*, for *lustring*, I pass.

## AUTHOR.

An accident. How happily he here declares his intention to continue in concealment! "As for myself, it is no longer a question, *whether I shall mix with the throng, and take a single share in the danger.*" (Let. 54, par. 7.)

## CRITIC.

A single share? A *personal* share he means. But read on —

## AUTHOR.

"Whenever JUNIUS appears, he must encounter a host of enemies."

## CRITIC.

*Whenever he mixes in the throng, he will have a host of enemies to his single share!* That would be unreasonable. But if it was no longer a *question*, whether he would take a *single share* in the danger, it was no longer *possible* for him to encounter a host of enemies. The talking of "Whenever JUNIUS appears," after he has determined *not* to appear, must be one of the passages that have made him an Irishman.

## AUTHOR.

I see. The subjunctive mood would have saved the paradox. On the subject of *pressing*, he is admirable. "Though numberless opportunities have presented themselves favourable to public liberty, no successful attempt has ever been made in this article." (Let. 59, par. 6.)

## CRITIC.

"In this *article!* In the *article* of *pressing!* *Pressing*, then, is an *article!* But in *French*, the term would be legitimate, and that solves the mystery.

AUTHOR.

"We say, that Lord Mansfield is a bad *man*, and a worse *judge*; but we do not say, that he is a *mere devil*." (Let. 63, par. ante-penult.)

CRITIC.

Nor did Junius mean to grant, that Lord Mansfield was not a *mere devil*; but to admit that he was not a *very devil*; not a *consummate*, a *complete devil*. "*A mere devil*," or *merely a devil*, as implying *simply a devil*, *barely a devil*, a being not *supremely* depraved,—was the very expression applicable to him who was only "a bad *man* and a worse *judge*." JUNIUS, choice in his terms, but not constantly sensible to their nicer shades of signification, is frequently short of his intended vigour, and sometimes, even, wide of his meaning.

AUTHOR.

I cannot deny it. Maintaining the illegality of the suspending power assumed by the crown, he declares, that the man who broached a contrary doctrine, "ought to have had the Tarpeian rock, or a gibbet for his reward." (Miscel. Let. 2, par. ult.)

CRITIC.

*Romans* and *Britons* again confounded! Allow me three questions. Would an English author talk of the *Tarpeian rock* as a reward for *English* delinquency?

AUTHOR.

No.

CRITIC.

Would a modern English author confuse the capital punishment inflicted in ancient Rome, with that of his own times and country?

AUTHOR.

No.

CRITIC.

If, by *accident*, an English author were to confuse them, would he be liable to so egregious a solecism, as that of saying, that the culprit, to whom he should be alluding—*ought to have HAD the Tarpeian rock*?

AUTHOR.

No. My last sample. "Without a vain profession of integrity, which in these times might justly be suspected, I shall shew myself in effect a friend to the interests of my countrymen, and leave it to them to determine, whether I am moved by a personal malevolence to three private gentlemen, or merely by a hope of perplexing the

ministry ; or whether I am animated by a just and honourable purpose of obtaining a satisfaction to the laws of this country, equal, if possible, to the violation they have suffered." (Let. 32, par. ult.)

## CRITIC.

In saying, "I *shall* shew myself a friend to the interests of my countrymen," and not explaining *how*, he says nothing. If he meant, that he had *already* shewn himself a friend to the interests of his countrymen, he should have said, "I *have* shewn myself," and if his sense was, that he *would* shew himself, what follows must be considered as declaratory of the *means*, and should have been introduced by the preposition *by*. "I *shall* shew myself, in effect, a friend to the interests of my countrymen, *by leaving* it to them to determine, &c." would have been *English*. "Personal malevolence *towards* three private gentlemen" would also have been *English*; but "a personal malevolence to three private gentlemen" is not *English*. "A just and honourable purpose *of obtaining*" is an unfortunate substitute for "The just and honourable purpose *to obtain*,"—The indefinite article *a*, before *just and honourable purpose of obtaining*, is not, however, worse grammar, than "a personal malevolence,"—"a hope of perplexing the ministry,"—or "a just and honourable purpose of obtaining a satisfaction."

## AUTHOR.

You surprize me. Admiration blinded my judgment. The superlative excellencies of Junius veiled from me his numerous defects.

## CRITIC.

Generosity is not less frequently treacherous, than fastidiousness. But if Junius was not a critical *English* scholar, he was a competent *French* grammarian. In a note appended to his 42d Letter, we find him correcting a public instrument of Lord Rochford's.

"The King's acceptance of the Spanish Ambassador's declaration is drawn up in barbarous French, and signed by the Earl of Rochford. This diplomatic lord has spent his life in the study and practice of *etiquettes*, and is supposed to be a profound master of the ceremonies. I will not insult him by any reference to grammar or common sense. If he were even acquainted with the common forms of his office, I should think him as well qualified for it as any man in his Majesty's service. The reader is requested to observe Lord Rochford's method of authenticating an instrument. "*En foi de quoi, moi soussigné, un des principaux secretaïres d'etat de S. M. B. ai signé la presente de ma*

*signature ordinaire, et icelle fait apposer le cachet de nos armes.* In three lines, there are no less than seven false concords. But the man do not even know the style of his office ; if he had known it, he would have said, *nous, soussigné secretaire d'etat de S. M. B. avons signé, &c.*"

Collate this with his *English*, in private note, (No. 21) to Woodfall, respecting an article he had prepared :—

" Would it be possible to give notice of it to-night, or to-morrow, by a dispersing a few hand-bills ?"

## AUTHOR.

I am converted. Junius was a foreigner. Hoping from the critics more lenity than you have extended towards the long-established favourite of the Public, I will commit my new opinion to the press.

## CRITIC.

A work, the sole object of which will be to remove a general delusion, will have a claim upon public indulgence :—But you charge me with want of lenity.—

My animadversions have been directed to the solution of a *problem*, not to the depreciation of *compositions that*, (as the author himself has said, and was entitled to say,) *will be read when the Commentaries of the Jesuits are forgotten.*

As productions of an *Englishman*, the Letters of Junius would only have been unrivalled, and immortal ; as emanating from a *foreigner*, are marvellous. The unequalled keenness of satire, arch and vivacious turns of thought, plenitude of the most felicitous ideas and brilliant expressions, and profound knowledge of our Political Constitution and Domestic Politics, which they universally display, drown, by their complicated splendour, the trivial blemishes of a limited and monotonous diction, imagery sometimes imperfect, and a phraseology often meanly colloquial, and deteriorated by a multitude of foreign impurities.

At the popular and unqualified admiration the author has excited, we are not to be surprized. If, by the optical aid of criticism, we discover in him innumerable spots, to the mind's naked eye, he is an orb of uniform refulgence. To be more just :—The very means that give visibility to his deformities, broaden and brighten his beauties ; while they detect the imperfections of humanity, reveal to us merits honourable to our nature.

72. ---“ The general opinion which people entertained of his *dispositions*,---” for---*the qualities of his temper*,---

99. ---“ A deal of *apparatus* and noise *was* made about some things,” for---*Much preparation and noise were* made about some things,---

117 ---“ Irish ships navigated *with* Irish subjects,---” for---Irish ships navigated *by* Irish subjects,---

127. ---“ The city of Corke, for instance, also claimed the honor of having *given them rise* ;”---for---of having *given rise to them*---or---of having *given them birth*.

### National Embarrassments.

3. ---“ They do not *use* to carry their orders *personally themselves* ;” for---“ They are not in the habit of *carrying*---or---It is not their practice to *carry*---their orders themselves.

20. ---“ Circular letters *promoted round* the country,”---for---“ Circular letters *dispersed through* the country,---

44 ---“ They [the representatives] wish to *cramp* it still *worse* ;”---for---They wish to *cramp* it still *more*.

46. ---“ In order there [in the House Commons] to *perform this office of universal justices*.”---for---in order to *act there* as universal justices.

57. ---“ The power of bestowing rewards might perhaps, be in *great measure* dispensed with ;”---for---in a *great measure* dispensed with.

59. ---“ Which ought to be *hid* ; that is to say, to be *hid* as long as possible.” For---which ought to be *hidden*, that is to say, to be *hidden* as long as possible.

65. “ Possibly, the right principles *from* which the business might be settled, have not been *fallen upon*.” For---possibly, the principles *upon* which the business might be rightly settled, have not yet been suggested.

The phrases *this country, this island, this nation, this kingdom*, though frequently used by writers resident in their native land, are peculiarly natural to persons sojourning in a foreign country. If a *Swiss Author*, stationed among us, returns to them with a constancy not observable, in the *English Literati*, we shall regard the habit as a *thing of course* : Its air is natural, because the air of a man speaking of the country in which he is writing, in contradistinction to the country of his birth. Not the occasional but the excessive use of the expressions, will be the *distinguishing particular* : and the same constancy of their

recurrence in different works, will be an equal indication that those works are of foreign origin. Not, then, by the use, but the *excess* of the use, the reader will determine, whether the *English* he is perusing flows from an indigenous or an exotic source. This *excess*, as exhibited in the "LETTERS of JUNIUS," will, perhaps, appear sufficient to authorize the assertion, that those productions, in possessing this particularity, are signalized by a decisive foreign feature.

*Letters of Junius.*

Vol. I.

(G. Woodfall's Ed.)

Private Note to Woodfall, No. 56.---"The intended bill will be a most dangerous innovation in the internal policy of *this country*."

And No. 63.---"I feel for the honour of *this country*,"---

Private Let. (1st) to Mr. Wilkes,---"As things are now circumstanced in *this country*"---

Private Let. (2nd) to the same,---"I believe there is no power in *this country*, to"---

Page.

48. ---The situation of *this country* is alarming enough to---

59. ---With respect to the navy, I shall only say that *this country* is---

136. ---You have united *this country* against you---

137. There never yet was a minister in *this country*, who---

163. ---before he has accomplished the destruction of *this country*---

166. ---The advice of the ablest men in *this country* has---

159. ---your grace will find that the people of *this country* are---

170. ---The injuries you have done *this country* are---

174. ---and then, I imagine, there is no gentleman in *this country*, who---

181. ---I believe there is yet a spirit of resistance in *this country*, which---

181. ---I am sure there is a fund of good sense in *this country*, which---

189. ---or generally in the laws of *this country*---

Vol. II.

39. ---It is not wonderful that the great cause in which *this country* is---

42. ---as regulated in *this country*---

52. ---a satisfaction to the laws of *this country*---

69. ---but it is not in *this country* Sir, that---

69. ---a peace with the natural enemies of *this country*---

## PAGE.

77. —and Tories of *this country*---
90. —But in the relation you have borne to *this country*---
92. —that you would not leave the ruin of *this country* to be---
100. —*this country* does not abound in---
103. —that Lord North should be permitted to govern *this country*---
104. ---indifferent about the interests of *this country*---
115. ---I defy the most subtle lawyer in *this country*, to---
115. ---equal to the making of laws in *this country*---
116. ---that can ever endanger the liberties of *this country*---
118. ---Or did his Majesty consult the laws of *this country*---
125. ---It has not been usual in *this country*---
145. ---But there is a set of men in *this country*---
150. He has a permanent existence in *this country*---
156. —and tell *this insulted country*---
156. —made upon the liberties of *this country*---
167. —in the face of *this country*---
177. The mischiefs you have done *this country*, are---
183. —the laws and constitution of *this country*---
185. Where will the humiliation of *this country* end?
191. —which threatens the very being of *this country*---
201. —and became hostile to *this country*---
209. The state of things is much altered in *this country*---
221. But if it were conceivable that a King of *this country* had---
223. I affirm that there is neither law nor liberty in *this kingdom*.
237. —by which, in *this country*---
242. —who governs *this country* with---
252. —of Lord Bute to *this country*---
311. —an essential injury to *this country*---
324. But the danger to *this country* would---
335. —your influence in *this country*---
348. ---nor practicable in *this country*.
358. In *this country*, there are---
465. —state of politics in *this country*,---
499. The condition of *this country*,---
505. —the interior circumstances of *this nation* made it---
509. If there be any man in *this country*, who---

## Vol. III.

1. A minister who, in *this country*, is---
6. —and the first lawyers of *this country*,---
6. —of the first importance to *this country* ;---
17. —a name of dreadful note in *this country*,---

## PAGE.

20. —the growth of arbitrary and despotic principles in *this country* :—
22. —in prejudice to the people of *this country*.
31. —a man of property, sense, or honour in *this country*, who—
41. —the first men and women in *this kingdom*.
78. —and safety to *this country* :
84. —their regard for the honour and interest of *this country* is—
92. In the first place, I consider *this country* as—
106. —the first military men in *this country* ;—
140. The people of *this country* feel as—
147. —was fighting the battles of *this country*, while---
154. —*this country* will remember with gratitude, that—
155. —you will soon reduce *this country* to—
156. —the melancholy state of *this country*, and—
157. —and of *this country*.
160. —he would certainly unite *this country* in—
163. At this rate, the peace of *this country* is—
164. —and directs the councils of *this country*.
166. —a true representation of the state of *this country*.
170. —whether *this country* shall stand or fall.
177. —nor shall *this country* perish without warning.
185. A combination to ruin *this country* was no more than—
187. —and the benefit of *this country*,—
194. —in the blood of *this country*.
202. —the present ministry are driving *this country* to destruction.
222. —given up *this country* to the—
252. —to save *this country*, and—
282. —the first people of *this country*—
292. —in defence of the laws of *this country*—
305. I congratulate *this country* upon the—
317. —the shameful and deplorable condition of *this country*,—
323. —towards *this country*.
344. —but the free constitution of *this country*,—
371. He found *this country* in that state of—
416. It is now, happily for *this country*,—
456. The people of *this country* will never—

If proving, by the above instances, that JUNIUS was a foreigner, were not to demonstrate, that JUNIUS was DE LOLME, the following phrases, selected from between forty and fifty, in the "Essay on our Constitution," and the "History of the Flagellants" would, perhaps, supply the link.

*Essay on the English Constitution.*

## PAGE.

- i. One of the first things in *this country*,—
- ii. When I first came to *this country*,—
- ii. Which, in *this country*, was no—
- iii. —the existing government of *this country*,—
- iii. —shews that my knowledge of *this country* was—
- vi. —of my successes in *this country*,—
- xi. —the inhabitants of *this country*—
- xiv. —the divisions that take place in *this country*,—
- xv. —are not productive in *this country*,—
- xv. —quarrels and divisions in *this country*,—
- 95. —a gentleman very learned in the laws of *this country*.
- 222. —in the political laws of *this country*,—
- 377. —of observing the customs of *this country*.
- 412. —which, in the constitution of *this country*,—
- 441. —under the government of *this country*.
- 444. —during the time of my first coming to *this country*.
- 450. —the thoroughly legal government of *this country* ;
- 452. —the subject enjoys in *this country*,---
- 453. ---upon the government of *this country*,---
- 461. If we look into the manner in which *this country* was---
- 462. —in regard to the civil power in *this country*.—
- 470. —in the public affairs of *this country*,—
- 501. —to the government of *this country*,—
- 508. —the perusal of the history of *this country*, will---
- 528. —sent at different times from *this country*,---
- 527. —in making the colonies useful to *this country*,---

*History of the Flagellants. (Quart. Edit.)*

- 6. —At least in *this island* will,—
- 106. —made a wonderful noise in *this nation* ;—
- 139. —the mad-houses established in *this country*, were—
- 155. —founded upon the laws of *this country*,—
- 200. —one who belonged to *this nation* ;—
- 220. —among those crowds of young men of *this country*, who—
- 303. —will in *this country* oblige—
- 312. —of the noted Buckhorse in *this country*, who—

The next instances are of the same class, in as much as their *excessive*, or *universal* use, bespeaks a foreign pen. The adjective *capital*, though employed by English writers, is very limited in its application. We apply it to a crime,—as a *capital*

*offence*; but never to a folly; as a *capital indiscretion*: To the efforts of art,—as a *capital picture*; but not to the fineness of the weather,—as a *capital morning*. At least, such combinations are not among our received expressions. With JUNIUS, however, as with the *French*, whatever is great or extraordinary, is *capital*: a *capital enemy*, (ENNEMI CAPITAL) is as eligible, and as general, as a *capital crime*. (CRIME CAPITAL)

In the PRIVATE NOTES to Mr. H. S. Woodfall, we read—  
Vol. I. Number 15,

“ I am now meditating a *capital*, and I hope, a final piece.”

In the PRIVATE LETTERS to MR. WILKES, Page 268,

Mr. Sawbridge's reputed firmness and integrity may be a *capital resource* to you ;”---

In the PUBLIC LETTERS, (Vol. II. p. 68)

“ In this measure we see a *capital* violation of the most obvious rules of policy.” Vol. 3, (p. 270) “ I willingly give up so *capital* a point.” And p. 395) “ Ridiculed by the very men to whom he has made so *capital* a surrender.” These are a few instances, selected from many. In De Lolme we meet with similar examples.

#### *Essay on the English Constitution.*

Page

61. ---the *capital* principle on which all others depend, is---

143. ---and there was besides, this *capital* difference between the---

147. ---To remedy so *capital* a defect in---

145. ---this *capital* defect in the Roman jurisprudence,---

232. ---but as the *capital* principle of the English Constitution,---

406. ---another *capital* branch of the governing authority of the crown was---

429. ---notwithstanding the *capital* advantages---

433. ---and despise the *capital* services which they---

482. ---sets another *capital* difference between the---

499. ---no cause to fear that the wresting any *capital* branch of---

503. ---the nobility enjoyed most *capital* advantages,---

506. ---such regulations as may *capitally* affect,---

506. ---had but faint notions of the *capital* changes which---

“ In the dissertation on the Union between England and Scotland,”

Page 11. “ derived a *capital* personal weight among them,”—

24. —“ England derived from it the *capital* present advantage”—

In the “ British Empire in Europe”

Page 14. —“ derived a *capital* personal weight among them,”—

30. —derived from it the *capital* present advantage,—

For the same reason that the extended use made by Junius of the epithet *capital*, is *one* argument against his being an Englishman, his constant employment of the phrase, *in question* (*en question*) for *doubtful*, or *under consideration*, affords another.

In his Preface we find him saying—

P. 14. " Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, conscious that the paper is *question*,"---

In the same volume,---

P. 152. ---the fidelity of his subjects brought into public *question*,---

214. ---The writer of the volume *in question*---

Vol. II.

189. —Have they ever been *in question* ?

202. —The national honor was not *in question*.

220. —The public virtues of the chief magistrate have long since ceased to be *in question*.

164. —the importance of the place is not *in question*.

264. —publishing such a proclamation as that *in question*,---

434. ---to apply the law to the fact *in question*.

487. ---when the liberties of my fellow subjects are *in question*.

Vol. III.

19. He is only bound to prove, that the lands *in question*---

106. —when military knowledge was *in question*,---

138. —How widely different is the case *in question* ?

203. —drawn into a public *question*,---

215. ---I have been assured that each of them was the author *in question*.

361. —the Speaker's warrant collaterally *in question*,—

*Essay on the English Constitution.*

iv. —had the noble Lord *in question*—

iv. —that the book *in question*—

v. —by the profits *in question*—

vi. When the approbation of mankind is *in question*,—

9. —and as when the laws *in question*—

35. —so was the statute *in question*—

132. —provision to be made for the case *in question*,—

228. —when the general welfare is really *in question*.

292. —the only thing *in question*—

506. —if the Bill *in question*—

The next example is no less indicative of the foreigner. The constant adoption of the phrase, *in effect* (*en effet*) for *in fact*, will not be found in any English author.

## Vol. I.

## PAGE.

11. —they, *in effect*, arraign the goodness of Providence,—  
 12. —they are, *in effect*, greater enemies—  
 37. —it is, *in effect*, no libel.  
 55. —they, *in effect*, divided the empire—  
 60. —they are, *in effect*, no less injudicious.  
 191. —and, *in effect*, the entire collective body—  
 197. —and are now, *in effect*, a snare to the unwary.

## Vol. II.

47. —is, *in effect*, a cruelty to the peaceable subject,—  
 52. —I shall shew myself, *in effect*, a friend to—  
 65. and, *in effect*, to prolong his minority—  
 124. —his Majesty had, *in effect*, no more concern—  
 141. —they, *in effect*, gave up that constitutional check,—  
 150. *In effect*, he has contrived to make it—  
 160. —and, *in effect*, takes the command—  
 169. —you, *in effect*, attack the liberty of the press,—  
 194. —for, *in effect*, both objects have been—  
 325. —I am not sure that greater abilities would not, *in effect*,  
 be—  
 434. —*in effect*, the distinction refers only to the rank of the  
 magistrate.  
 447. —they, *in effect*, disfranchised the whole kingdom.

## Vol. III.

38. —the people, *in effect*, preserved their own—  
 377. —their granting a *noli prosequi* is, *in effect*, an encroachment  
 upon—  
 Also in his first Letter to Mr. Wilkes ;—  
 “ The sacrifice I require of Mr. Crosby, would, *in effect*, be  
 nothing.”  
 And in his second, to the same gentleman,—  
 “ Which, *in effect*, is keeping the representative under the rod of  
 the constituent.”  
 And again in his 45th Note to Woodfall ;—  
 “ I think he has, *in effect*, injured the man whom he meant to  
 serve.”  
 An Englishman in a foreign country, affecting to be one of  
 the *litterati* of that country, would, (especially in the practice  
 of addressing the people,) find it extremely difficult, if not

impossible, to be invariably guarded against the silent seduction of his own secret feeling. He would, if I may so express myself, sometimes *unconsciously* obey his *consciousness*; without knowing it, speak in a tone more natural to a visitor than to a native. If Junius was *not* an Englishman, Junius was precisely in this situation; a *foreigner*; yet *one of the people*. Let us try him by this rule.

In Vol. I. p. 53, we read,—

“As to the debt upon the civil list, the *people of England* expect that it will not be paid without”—

In his 27th Letter, Vol. II. p. 17,—

“But it seems I have outraged the feelings of a father’s heart. Am I indeed so injudicious? Does Sir William Draper think I would have hazarded my credit with a *generous nation* by so gross a violation of the laws of humanity? Does he think *I am so little acquainted*, with the first and noblest characteristic of *Englishmen*?”

P. 47. The legal and proper mercy of a *King of England* may remit the punishment, but ought not to stop the trial.

70. —he [Mr. Wilkes] seemed to think, that, as there are few excesses, in which an *English gentleman* may not be permitted to indulge, the same latitude was allowed him in the choice of his political principles.

75. If an *English King* be hated or despised, he *must* be unhappy.

75. But if the *English people* should no longer confine their resentment to a submissive representation of their wrongs;—

127. Let it be taken for granted, that an occasion may arise, in which a *King of England* shall be compelled to—

157. The insult offered to the army in general, is as gross as the outrage intended to the *people of England*.

156. The *English nation* must be roused, and put upon its guard.

325. My Lord, the *people of England* shall know you as well as I do.

### Vol. III.

2. —they (the ministry) are determined to set the understanding and the spirit of the *English people* at defiance.

7. I pity the unhappy *Englishman*, for he, perhaps, may blush for his situation.

7. The *people of England* are by nature somewhat phlegmatic. Their complexional character is extremely striking, when contrasted

with the suddenness and vivacity of many of our neighbours on the continent.

8. Their anger [the anger of the English] is not suddenly kindled, nor easily extinguished; it is dark and gloomy; \*—

8. The long patience, almost to tameness, with which the *people of England* have borne the outrages of evil ministers,—

9. The *people of England* have seen an administration formed under the—

9. The *people of England* bore this likewise.

10. The *Englishman* still continued sullen and silent.

11. The *people of England* at length began to break silence.

39. —but which [ministerial delusions] I hope will be as little able to maintain themselves against the improved understanding and well-directed firmness of the *English nation*.

43. By this rule a man may say as a judge, that the loss of an *Englishman's* liberty for twenty-four hours is grievous beyond estimation; and then, as a minister, may declare, that forty days' tyranny is a trifling burthen, which any *Englishman* may bear.

85. —it has been already determined by the legislature, to which an *Englishman* still owes some degree of submission.

218. The divine right of beauty is the only one an *Englishman* ought to acknowledge.

221. When a *brave*, a *haughty*, and a *spirited*, though patient people, shall demand vengeance,—

268. —nor can the injury to the *people of England* be heightened—

349. What has an *Englishman* now to hope for?

Though susceptible as any people of the feelings of a just and manly resentment, we do not indulge a dark, assassin-like revenge; nor *talk*, (because we do not *think*,) of *strangling*, or *biting*. Bold and open in our anger, we do not *stab*. The lurking *dagger* is our abhorrence. Neither is it ever the chosen *weapon* of our personal contests, nor a favourite *figure* in our literary hostilities. Let us examine Junius by *this* criterion.

In a private note to Woodfall, (No 17,) we find him, in allusion to a recent philippic, saying,—

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\* And in his 2d Letter to Mr. Wilkes, he tells him, "That the *English* are a fastidious people."

" They are more seriously *stabbed* with this last stroke than all the rest."

And in (No. 24,) alluding to Lord Mansfield, he says—

" We have got the rascal down, let us *strangle* him, if it be possible."

In a marginal note of his own, appended to his 24th public epistle, we read—

" Does Sir W. D. think it criminal to *stab* a tyrant to the heart ?"

In the same volume (p. 59) he asks the Duke of Grafton how he can endure to sit at the treasury board, or in council, when he must feel that every circulating whisper is at his expence, and *stabs* him to the heart ?

In page 116, he observes that our liberties can never be in danger till parliament itself betrays its trust, by—

" Employing the very weapons committed to it by the collective body, to *stab* the constitution."

P. 159. Under the head of " INTELLIGENCE EXTRAORDINARY" we meet with—

" To make the blow secure, the *dagger* that is to wound the constitution will be as much as possible concealed until the instant that it strikes."

P. 347. Speaking of Mr. Wilkes, he says—

" The favour of his country constitutes the shield which defends him against a thousand *daggers*."

P. 472. Presents to us, as part of the description of an emblematical picture of Lord Camden—

" The laws of England under his feet, and before his distorted vision a *dagger*."

P. 492 Represents Lord Shelburne in the character of *Mala-grida*, saying

" Now will I skulk away to,—where I will betray or misrepresent every syllable I have heard, ridicule their persons, blacken their characters, and frown upon the man who hears me, until I have an opportunity of biting even him to the heart."

### Vol. III.

In page 89 of this volume, in answer to an assailant of Mr. George Grenville, he says—

" Let us meet upon the fair ground of truth, and if he finds one vulnerable part in Mr. Grenville's character, let him fix his *poisoned arrows* there."

P. 307 exhibits him telling Woodfall, that the management of ministers will last—

“Until there is a general insurrection of the *English nation*, or until the House of Bourbon have collected their strength and are ready to strike us to the heart.”

P. 313 presents the remark, that the idea of Lord Mansfield's inclining to favour Lord Grosvenor, is too preposterous to be deserving of notice,

“But for one consideration, viz. that if it were true, it *stabs* the chief justice to the heart.”

Not for their magnitude, but their *force*, I adduce the remaining examples. We often substitute the instrument for the agent, or the effect for the cause, the result for the sentiment; but on what occasions do we talk of the *cry of reason*—the *cry of justice*—or the *cry of policy*?

In volume 3, p. 12, we meet with—

“There is no sort of doubt, that *the cry of reason, justice, and policy*, and the general feeling of the people, will shortly prevail.”

*La criée de la raison* is very *natural* French; for the very *rationality* of our Gallic neighbours too often partakes of passion and turbulence. Not so with us: hence we never say—the *cry of reason*; but uniformly the *voice of reason*. Again, never do we employ the word *cry for clamour*, as we we find it used in p. 33 of the same volume—

“Mr. Wilkes,” says JUNIUS, “being a man of no sort of consequence in his own person, can never be supported, but by keeping up the *cry*, and this *cry* can no way be maintained but by renewing his attacks upon the Scotch favourite.”

And in p. 220;

“To every other complaint, whether of the disgrace, which we suffer abroad, or of the oppressions which we feel at home; whether the *cry* be for property ravished from us, for our liberties infringed, or for the laws perverted, for the constitution overturned, we have much the same answer.”

The next instance of the oversight of a foreigner is of weight only as it is extremely *natural* to a foreigner.

In page 72 of the same volume we read—

“For my own part, Sir, I would rather see my name advertised among a company of buffoons at *Bartlemy Fair*, than prostituted to a ministerial junto, to deceive and to cheat my country.”

Would an *English* scholar, elegant *English* writer, I may

ask, be liable to disgrace his page with so flagrant a barbarism, as that of the word *Bartelmy*? A foreign writer, though deeply versed in our language, may not be acquainted with all its legitimate expressions; and, by consequence, will not always recognize as such, the vulgarisms he hears. Either JUNIUS used the word *Bartelmy*, only because he had heard it, without knowing, or caring about, its derivation; or, aware that it was a corruption of *Bartholemew* (*Barthelemi*), which we know the French pronounce *Bartelmy*, he by an inadvertency natural to a foreigner, wrote *Bartelmy*. Under either of these suppositions (and it seems impossible to reject both) JUNIUS was not a native writer.

No popular author (in English) except JUNIUS, has ever been in the unremitted habit of introducing allusions to the society of the Jesuits, and the names of its distinguished members: *First*, because the character of that society could have little interest with the English people in general; and, *secondly*, because the names of those members, however familiar in some parts of the continent, would in England be almost universally unknown.\* A foreigner, however, a foreigner, too, conversant with that institution, and, in some respect, its historian, might find it difficult to avoid them.

The 54th Letter of JUNIUS closes with—

“ I may venture to foretel, that the Bible and JUNIUS will be read, when the commentaries of the *Jesuits* are forgotten.”

In his 5th Miscellaneous Letter, we find—

“ A single line of his face [Lord Shelburne's] will be sufficient to give us the heir apparent of *Loyola* and all the College. A little more of the Devil about the eyebrows; that's enough; a perfect *Malagrida*, I protest!”

Miscellaneous Letter, No. 7, represents a grand council sitting upon the affairs of Ireland. The Dramatis Personæ are,

“ *Tilbury*, *Judge Jefferyes*, *Caution without Foresight*, *MALAGRIDA*, and *Boutdeville*.—

In the third page of this Letter, *Malagrida* says—

“ My Lord Holland, who certainly had some reason to know me, has done me the honor to say, that I was born a *Jesuit*, and that if all the good qualities which make the *Society of Jesus* respectable, were banished

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\* Who, among those of the English whom JUNIUS means by the people (the commonalty) ever heard of *Loyola*, *Malagrida*, *Bassambaum*, *Saurex*, or *Molina*?

from the rest of the earth, they would still find room enough in the bosom of *Malagrida*.

In the 21st Miscellaneous Letter, we meet with---

"I am not deeply read in authors of that professed title [the casuists] but I remember seeing *Bassambaum*, *Saurex*, *Molina*, and a score of other Jesuitical books, burnt at Paris, for their casuistry, by the hands of the common hangman." And

Miscellaneous Letter 28, presents us with---

"An ostensible engagement, with a mental reservation, is the first principle of the *morale relachée* professed and inculcated by the *Society of Jesus*.

The indications that JUNIUS was a man of *legal* education, if not so numerous as those of his having been a *foreigner*, will, perhaps, be thought equally cogent.

The expression "*in point*," though originally technical, is now very general: But at the time in which JUNIUS wrote, its use was, nearly, limited to the courts. In no author of that period, out of the pale of the law as a profession, will the reader find its recurrence so frequent as in the compositions called the LETTERS OF JUNIUS.

The following are a few of the instances.

In the 16th Epistle, upon the subject of Mr. Wilkes's expulsion, we read,—

"The custom of parliament must then be referred to, and some case or cases, *strictly in point*, must be produced,"—and just afterwards in the same composition,—"It is not possible to conceive a case *more exactly in point*.

In the 17th, we find,---

"It contains nothing, but literally the fact, except that there is a case *exactly in point*, with—"

And in the 20th,

"The case of Mr. Walpole is *strictly in point*."

In the 22d,

"This fact we consider as *directly in point*."

In the 43d,

"Of the three exceptions to this general rule, that of Oliver Cromwell is the only one *in point*."

In the 63d, the writer complains, that—

"His opponents never answer him *in point*."

And in his 68th, says to Lord Mansfield,---

"Whether your reply be quibbling and evasive, or liberal and in point, will be matter for"—

In his 59th, (Miscellaneous) we read,

"Whatever I advance, whether it be weak or forcible, shall be directly in point."

And in his 90th,

"The ministry would then have an example in point."

In his preface he tells us, what he had already assured us of repeatedly in his Letters, that he

"Is no lawyer by profession," and that "he shall not think himself answered, though he should be convicted of a mistake in terms, or of misapplying the language of the law."

A few paragraphs onward, we meet with---

"I speak advisedly, and am well assured, that no lawyer of character in Westminster Hall, will contradict me."

And soon afterwards,

"But understanding the law as I do, what he said was at least consistent, and to the purpose."

JUNIUS, himself a man of liberal education, tauntingly says to Sir William Draper,\*

"You are a scholar, Sir William, and, if I am truly informed, you write Latin with almost as much purity as English."

And (in his 18th) with a similar self-complacency, addresses Sir William Blackstone with,

"You are a lawyer, Sir, and know better than I do."

And again (in his 68th) informs us, that,

"He well knows the practice of the court, and by what legal rules it ought to be directed."

We have here, then, a fresh mass of evidence, showing not only that JUNIUS was a *Foreigner*, but that he was a *Foreigner of Legal Education*. De Lolme also was not only a *Foreigner*, but a *Foreigner of Legal Education*.

But if De Lolme was JUNIUS, and JUNIUS was addicted, in his asseverations to the excessive use of some one term, such a habit, whether designed or accidental, ought to prevail in De Lolme. And, again, if JUNIUS was a *Foreigner*, that term ought to be of universal adoption with that people by the perfect knowledge and long use of whose language his diction appears to be influenced. With not more than five exceptions, JUNIUS, throughout

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\* Vide Letter 7th.

his Letters, makes his assertions, or declarations, by the verb *affirm* (*affirmer*.)

## VOL. 1.

## Page.

- 12. I do not scruple to *affirm*, that---
- 120. I am proud to *affirm*, that---
- 180. ---the reverse of what the ministry *affirm* ;---
- 189. ---for they *affirm*, that---
- 190. On the contrary they *affirm*, that---
- 214. ---but he *affirms*, that,---
- 220. I am authorized to *affirm*,---
- 221. ---for they absolutely *affirm*, that,---
- 222. Are the ministry daring enough to *affirm*, that---

## VOL. 2.

- 29. I *affirm* with Junius,---
- 30. ---he might have *affirmed* it---
- 47. This I must *affirm*, is---
- 51. ---having since either *affirmed*, or---
- 56. I *affirm*, that---
- 117. I *affirm*, that---
- 175. ---you meant to *affirm*, that---
- 212. ---and *affirm*, that---
- 214. ---when I *affirm*, that---
- 223. I *affirm*, that---
- 242. ---as to *affirm*, that---
- 247. Mr. Bradshaw *affirms*---
- 305. He repeatedly *affirms*,---
- 308. ---as to *affirm*, that---
- 314. I had *affirmed*, that---
- 315. This I *affirm*---
- 318. Now, Sir, I *affirm*, that---
- 355. ---*affirmed*, that---
- 374. I *affirm*, that---
- 376. Junius did never *affirm*, that---
- 378. I *affirm*, that---
- 398. I *affirm*, that---
- 398. I *affirm*, in---
- 409. ---and *affirm*---
- 411. I *affirm*, that---
- 419. ---which I *affirm*,---
- 433. I *affirm*, that---
- 443. I do not scruple to *affirm*,---
- 443. ---daring enough to *affirm*, that---

477. *No Ghost affirms*, that—  
 479. Let *Philo Veritatis* again *affirm*—  
 484. I may *affirm*---

Vol. 3.

136. Will your Lordship *affirm*, that—  
 202. I can only *affirm*, that---  
 280. ---will not *affirm*, that—  
 303. I *affirm*, therefore,---  
 323. ---in *affirming*---  
 428. ---he *affirms*,---  
 457. ....we may *affirm*,---

Private Letters to Mr. Wilkes.

264. Yet I can truly *affirm*, that---  
 268. I *affirm* without a doubt, that—  
 271. I *affirm*, that—  
 282. Can any man in his senses *affirm*, that  
 288. ---we ought to *affirm*, that—  
 326. ---will not scruple to *affirm*, that—

In his *Essay*, De Lolme has only five occasions to use this word, or its synonymes; and on all of them, gives it the preference.

Page.

31. Judge Hale going even so far as to *affirm*, that—  
 255. ---will not scruple to *affirm*, that—  
 301. ---will not hesitate to *affirm*, that—  
 378. It is saying nothing beyond the exact truth, to *affirm*, that—  
 406. It was forbidden, under the penalty of a præmunire, to *affirm*, that—

If these examples of *verbal* affinity between De Lolme and Junius were not sufficient, (affinity in terms all of which have their duplicates in the French language) others might be produced, with which the ear of every reader, of the *Political Letters* of Junius, and *Political Essay* of De Lolme, has been well familiarized. The substantives detestation (*détestation*) passion (*passion*) illustration (*illustration*) imputation (*imputation*) caprice (*caprice*) quarrel (*querelle*) the adjectives odious (*odieux*) pernicious (*pernicieux*) apparent (*apparent*) decent (*décent*) and the verb descend (*descendre*) and their derivatives, recur, in both works, too constantly, not to have made an impression, which their present appearance must revive, and strengthen; the impression of a monotony very remarkable in two writers distin-

guished by such general excellence. If the identities of principle, of phraseology, and idiom in both, have escaped his detection, still the incessant return of the same sounds must have left their vibrations, and brought the authors into an audible unity.

If De Lolme was JUNIUS, the "Essay on the English Constitution," and the compositions called "The LETTERS of JUNIUS," are from the same pen. But if a writer produce two publications, both considerable in quantity, with certainty will it follow, that however different their subjects, appearances less or more strong, evidences circumstantial or internal, positive or presumptive, will betray the fact. Notwithstanding the closest care, and nicest caution, of the most subtle and wary mind, some identity of bias in opinion, some similarities of imagination, partial resemblances of style, exclusive preferences of phrase, peculiarities of diction, or minute unconscious forms of construction, will, to a scrutinizing eye, assuredly reveal the author. Upon this principle, if no such *common features* are discoverable between the *ESSAY*, and the *EPISTLES*, De Lolme was not JUNIUS. Let us compare the two productions.

On examining their political doctrines, we find them precisely the same. *Both* works represent the English Constitution as the surest and most permanent asylum of liberty; *both* maintain the right of resistance to regal and legislative oppression; *both* strenuously defend the freedom of the PRESS, and its pretensions to examine the conduct of public functionaries; *both* reprehend assaults on private characters; *both* assert the right of juries to return a *general verdict*; and *both* set a high value on the freedom of election; *both* object to the republican form of government; *both* are distrustful of professed patriots, and *both* speak of the law (as a *profession*), in no very honourable terms.

In their style, *both* works are clear, nervous, argumentative, and occasionally distinguished by a particular manner of ushering in a sentiment, and a cast of phraseology, by which more is conveyed to the mind than exhibited to the eye. Not only are the same ideas and opinions found in *both*, but those ideas and opinions are often similarly conveyed. Not only do *both* indulge in a particular oratorical figure, (a figure not com-

mon in essayists and epistolary writers,) but both introduce it in one mode, and clothe it in the same language. Certain words, as well as particular expressions, are more frequently found in this *ESSAY* and these *LETTERS*, than in any other volumes; and of *three* words derived from the French, *two* in both works, generally preserve their original, that is, their *foreign* orthography, and *one* exhibits that orthography without deviation.

It is also worthy of remark, that never was there a man less likely than De Lolme, to *hide his light under a bushel*. Not satisfied with *anonymously* quoting from his own *ESSAY*, and *anonymously* acknowledging the quotation (as in the "Parallel between the English and Swedish Constitutions") openly directing our attention to his own "Memorials of Human Superstition," as in pages 512, and 513 of the same *ESSAY*, he, in his dedication to the King, of the fourth English edition of this his principal production, reminds his Majesty of *the approbation with which the English public had been pleased to favour it*; in the *second* page of his annexed advertisement he tells the reader, *that the book had met with a flattering reception on the continent; that it also met with approbation here, even from men of opposite parties; that it had been noticed by men in the highest places*;\* again, in page 5, *that men of high rank had condescended to give their approbation to it*; and again, in page 521 of the *ESSAY* itself, *that Dean Tucker, in one of his tracts, had thought proper to quote the work*. All these commendations direct, and praises implied; applauses expressed, and approvals by quotation, we find De Lolme careful to acknowledge, and to set forth; but though the name of JUNIUS is introduced into the same *ESSAY* no fewer than four times, not a single, solitary notice is taken of *that distinguished personage's* very prominent and highly serviceable quotation and recommendation of the work! In page 176, we meet with "Laws, as JUNIUS says, extremely well," in page 177, "thus, in the prosecution of Woodfall, for printing JUNIUS's letter to the King," in p. 299, "see Serjeant Glynn's speech for Woodfall, in the prosecution against the latter, by the Attorney-General,

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\* The Houses of Parliament.

for publishing JUNIUS's letter to the King;" and in p. 362, "JUNIUS has quoted this observation of the Judge." [*Blackstone.*] JUNIUS is in the mind of the author on all these occasions; *that* JUNIUS, whose liberal applause, conspicuous quotation, and recommendatory zeal, had, beyond all other buoyants, raised the reputation of his work; but the author—*that* author who is so prompt to set before us, and be grateful for, the commendations and quotations of other admirers, never recollects his debt to the generous JUNIUS! *his* applausive notice, *his* quotations and warm recommendations, he never mentions! Why?—That was a string that would not bear vibration. Conscience feared to touch it. But what had sound policy dictated? To brave the secret feeling, however terrific, that forbade the expression of gratitude to so generous and serviceable a friend; or, at least, to have withheld all other acknowledgments. But *vanity* and *dread* were omnipotent by turns.

To these coincidences and circumstances, it may be added, that the Essay praises and quotes JUNIUS, and JUNIUS extols and quotes the Essay; and that some personal circumstances in this Essay, recorded of himself by the author, exactly correspond with the particular facts made known to us by the LETTERS of JUNIUS.

But this mass itself of comparative proofs, requires to be authenticated.

That *both* the above works represent the English Constitution as the *surest* and most *permanent* *asylum* of liberty, every one will agree, who shall compare with the LETTERS, the passages here given from the ESSAY. That *both* countenance *resistance to oppression*, strongly advocate *the liberty of the press*, zealously assert the *rights of juries*, &c. &c. will be equally evident.

#### *Right of Resistance.*

DE LOLME.

"Resistance is looked upon by them [our laws] as the ultimate and lawful resource against the violences of power." (Essay on the English Constitution, p. 315.)

JUNIUS.

"The right of resistance on the part of the people, is the ultimate sanction of our civil liberties." (Miscellaneous Let. 76, p. 275.)

*On the Freedom of the Press.*

DE LOLME.

"But it is with respect to this right of an ultimate resistance, that the advantage of a *free press* appears in a most conspicuous light."\* (Essay on the English Constitution, p. 319.)

JUNIUS.

"Let it be impressed upon your minds, let it be instilled into your children, that the liberty of the press is the palladium of all the civil, political, and religious rights of an Englishman." (Ded. par. 3.)

*On the Impropriety of attacking Private Characters.*

DE LOLME.

"In what, then, does this liberty of the press precisely consist? Is it a liberty left to every one to publish every thing that comes into his head? To calumniate, to blacken, whomsoever he pleases? No; the same laws that protect the person and the property of the individual, do also protect his reputation." (Essay on the English Constitution, p. 296.)

JUNIUS.

"The indulgence of private malice and personal slander should be checked and resisted by every legal means. The laws of England provide as effectually as any human laws can do, for the protection of the subject in his reputation, as well as in his person and property." (Preface to the Letters.)

*The Right of Juries to return a General Verdict.*

DE LOLME.

"The principle that a Jury is to decide both on the fact and the criminality of it, is so well understood, that if a verdict were so framed as only to have for its object the bare existence of the fact laid to the charge of the prisoner, no punishment could be awarded by the judge in consequence of it." (Essay on the English Constitution, p. 177.)

JUNIUS.

"The right of Juries to return a general verdict, in all cases whatsoever, is an essential part of our constitution, not to be controlled or limited by the Judges, nor, in any shape, questionable by the Legislature." Ded. par. 9.)

\* For the proof of unity of sentiment in De Lolme and Junius, respecting the Liberty of the Press, it would, perhaps, have been sufficient to refer the reader to the quotation from the Essay, with which Junius has thought proper to conclude his Preface.

*On the Freedom of Election.*

DE LOLME.

" If we combine the right enjoyed by the people of England of electing their Representatives, with the whole of the English Government, we shall become continually more and more sensible of the excellent effects that may result from that right." (Essay on the English Constitution, p. 313.)

JUNIUS.

" The right of election is the very essence of the constitution. To violate that right, and much more to transfer it to any other set of men, [than the rightful constituents,] is a step leading immediately to the dissolution of all government." (Miscellaneous Let. 11.)

*On Republics.*

DE LOLME.

" Personal power and independence on the laws, being, in such States, the immediate consequence of the favour of the people, they are under an unavoidable necessity of being betrayed. Corrupting, as it were, every thing they touch, they cannot shew a preference to a man, but they thereby attack his virtue; they cannot raise him, without immediately losing him, and weakening their own cause; nay, they inspire him with views directly opposite to their own, and send him to join and increase the number of their enemies." (Essay on the English Constitution, p. 277.)

JUNIUS.

" I can more readily admire the liberal spirit and integrity, than the sound judgment of any man, who prefers a republican form of government, in this or any other empire of equal extent, to a monarchy so qualified and limited as ours. I am convinced, that neither is it in theory the wisest system of government, nor practicable in this country." (Let. 59.)

*Of the Law and Lawyers.*

DE LOLME.

" As the true science of the law, which is no other than the knowledge of a long series of former rules and precedents, cannot as yet exist, they [lawyers] endeavour to create an artificial one to recommend themselves by. Formal distinctions and definitions are invented to express the different kinds of claims men may set up against one another; in which almost the same nicety is displayed as that used by philosophers in classing the different subjects, or kingdoms, of natural history. Settled forms of words, under the name of *urits*, or the like, are devised to set those claims forth; and, like

introductory passes, serve to usher claimants into the Temple of Justice. For fear their clients should desert them after their first introduction, like a sick man who rests contented with a single visit of the physician, lawyers contrive other ceremonies and technical forms for their conduct of the process and the pleadings; and, in order, still more safely to bind their clients to their dominion, they, at length, obtain to make every error relating to their professional regulations, whether it be a *misnomer*, a *misleading*, or some such transgression, to be as fatal a consequence as a failure against the laws of strict justice." (Essay on the English Constitution, p. 121.)

## JUNIUS.

"As a *practical profession*, the study of the law requires but a moderate portion of abilities. The learning of a pleader is usually upon a level with his integrity. The indiscriminate defence of right and wrong contracts the understanding, while it corrupts the heart. Subtlety is soon mistaken for wisdom, and impunity for virtue. If there be any instances upon record, as *some* there are, undoubtedly, of genius and morality united in a lawyer, they are distinguished by their singularity, and operate as exceptions. (Let. 68.)

These examples, the Reader is requested to recollect, have not been offered as instances of affinity in style, sentential construction, verbal or phraseological lineament, or any of the minor features of composition; but only to show, that on the leading topics of British politics, DE LOLME and JUNIUS thought *as one man*.

We will, hereafter, notice other resemblances between DE LOLME, as portrayed in his ESSAY, and JUNIUS, as exhibited in his LETTERS. These will be found to consist of similar turns of thought, idiomatical likenesses, a constant addiction to the use of certain compound expressions, of the same particular words in preference of their synonymes, (as, to a considerable degree, hath already been shewn,) and an undeviating identity of sentiment and principle, in regard to every part of the English Constitution.

As, however, it is necessary that the Reader, while he accompanies me in the following chapter, should carry with him the recollection of the mental powers, acquisitions, sentiments, temper, and personal habits and manners, both of DE LOLME and of JUNIUS, as manifested by their avowed writings, and such circumstances as have come to my know-

ledge, he will regard a short view of these as a general opening, and requisite preliminary, to the remainder of the case.

DE LOLME possessed a mind of the firmest frame; keen, polished, penetrating, and ardently devoted to the cause of liberty\* and to political investigation: so did JUNIUS. DE LOLME was not a partizan; or if one, a partizan of the whole English people, and of their constitution, considered in opposition to the comparatively slavish spirits of most other communities, and to all other constitutions then existing: so was JUNIUS. De Lolme, though not a professional lawyer, had been bred to the bar, and possessed a general acquaintance both with legal theory and legal practice, far surpassing the knowledge acquired by non-professors: so JUNIUS, though he disowns any further intelligence in English jurisprudence, than every English gentleman ought to possess,† proves himself to be more deeply versed in its leading principles and practical rules, than any gentleman not in the legal profession. As DE LOLME's great work, while it evinces his familiarity with all our received law books, from the earliest times to his own, exhibits him equally acquainted with the spirit, principles and progress of our constitution, so the Letters of JUNIUS, at once display both the writer's knowledge of our law libraries, "from Jacobs to Coke, from the Dictionary to the Classic," and his profound constitutional information. Both JUNIUS and DE LOLME were quick and irritable in temper; high-minded, proud in their assumptions, and "*above a common bribe.*"

DE LOLME was defective as an English scholar, but a critical proficient in the French language: so was JUNIUS. DE LOLME was well read, not only in ancient, but modern history; especially with that of the *Jesuits*: equally so was JUNIUS. To the Jesuits, *one* (in a particular work) and the *other* (in his Epistles) continually alludes, and always with

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\* "I feel a kind of pleasure, I must confess; to observe on this occasion, that though I have been called by some an advocate for power, I have carried my ideas of liberty further than many writers who have mentioned that word with much enthusiasm." (Essay, p. 293.)

† "I am no lawyer by profession, nor do I pretend to be more deeply read than every English gentleman should be in the laws of his country." (Preface, par. 3.)

derision and sarcasm. DE LOLME had some knowledge of chymistry : so had JUNIUS : was familiar with the principles of mechanics : so was JUNIUS. DE LOLME was versed in the mystery of stock-jobbing : JUNIUS was not less deeply initiated. JUNIUS is not more careful to remind us, *that he is no lawyer*, than that he writes *without any view to profit* : DE LOLME will be found as anxious to disclaim the legal profession, as ambitious of the character of disinterestedness. JUNIUS is importunately solicitous to be thought an *Englishman*, "*One of ourselves*;" equally so the NATIVE of GENEVA. JUNIUS re-fabricates his own productions, and gives them to the public as new : DE LOLME will be seen indulging in the same practice. JUNIUS was acquainted with all the subtle resources, and subterfuges of the press : DE LOLME as constantly resorted to the same aids. JUNIUS confesses, *privately*, that he has "*honour and advantage in view*," from his literary labours : and DE LOLME was the man, and the *only* man, that did, or *could*, derive from them any honour, or, (excepting Woodfall) any pecuniary advantage. Every author, whether ancient or modern, foreign or English, alluded to, or quoted by JUNIUS, DE LOLME will appear to have read. JUNIUS, evidently, had some high connections : many of DE LOLME's were equally exalted. JUNIUS is sometimes guilty of wilful and direct falsity : DE LOLME is not more exempted from the charge of misrepresentation. JUNIUS *clandestinely* supports JUNIUS. DE LOLME will appear *covertly* befriending DE LOLME. JUNIUS upholds DE LOLME : DE LOLME sustains JUNIUS. And lastly, not only is the name of each found in the works of each ; but productions appear, each of which betray the minds of both ; — show, in the same page, DE LOLME as JUNIUS ; and JUNIUS as De Lolme.

## CHAPTER VI.

### *Junius clandestinely adopting an Anonymous Publication.*

I NOW offer to the attention of the reader a rare and curious document : the model of JUNIUS's celebrated Address to the KING;\* the original of that philippic which exasperated Lord North to arraign the author in the House of Commons, and incited Mr. Burke to exclaim in the same place—

“How comes this JUNIUS to have broken through the cobwebs of the law, and to have ranged uncontrouled, unpunished, through the land? When I saw his attack upon the King, I own, my blood ran cold; I thought he had ventured too far, and there was an end of his triumphs; not that he had not asserted many truths. Yes, Sir, there are in that composition many bold truths, by which a wise prince might profit.”

This composition, which extorted from the same formidable orator, the acknowledgment,

“That JUNIUS was more dreaded than himself; that ministers disdained such vermin as the *Opposition*, while the mighty Boar of the forest was before them,”

Was never conceived to be an improved copy of a neglected pamphlet; the ornamented transcript of a production that had not risen to the honor of exciting the least public attention! that was *still-born*, and laid a moveless burthen on the upper shelves of the bookseller! That from a silent, slumbering worm, buried in dust and darkness, sprang suddenly to light, a hissing Scorpion, to sting the royal Lion! The fact is extraordinary, and independently of the use to which I am applying it, would have been worthy of notice in a publication having for its object, *the disclosure of the Author of the LETTERS of JUNIUS.*

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\* This Address, the reader is reminded, appeared in the *Public Advertiser*, Dec 19, 1769, on which day, a *Letter to the same great personage*, also written by DR LOLME, (as will be proved) was printed in the *Morning Chronicle*.

Junius's Address to the King, for the purpose of a more effectual disguise, was transformed into a *Letter to the Printer of the Public Advertiser*, but the *first paragraph* is the only part of the composition that is not personally addressed to his Majesty. Affecting to direct the whole of his language to Woodfall, the writer obtains the pretence that at once covers him as the transcriber of his own former production, provides for him the apology, that he is *not* actually addressing the *King* and affords him the opportunity to indulge in an extended use of his favourite figure, the *prosopopeia*. Through a few lines, we see him in converse with Woodfall, and then, find ourselves drawn into the supposition,

"That the difficulties of an audience are surmounted,"

That JUNIUS is closetted with his Majesty, and availing himself of the royal condescension to deliver that, *viva voce*, and efficiently, to the *King*, which, by his *pen*, had been given to the *public* in vain.\*

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\* To facilitate the collation of the two productions, (if *two* they can properly be called) their corresponding pages are presented collaterally, and the similar passages printed, in *Italics*, and brought as nearly as possible into contiguous lines.

A  
LETTER  
TO THE  
K I N G.

~~~~~  
Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cantum.  
~~~~~

London:

—

PRINTED FOR S. WOODGATE, NEAR THE CHAPTER-HOUSE,  
ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

—

It is a peculiarity of this publication, that it bears no date : but the peculiarity is common to De Lolme and to Junius. Several of the LETTERS of Junius were sent to the *Public Advertiser* without a date, and the first Edition of De Lolme's, "*Flagellants*," is also undated.

A  
LETTER TO THE KING.

SIR,

I make no apology for this address to your Majesty, because my heart is warmed with the sincerest attachment to your person, and my pen shall be guided by the infallible dictates of truth. I experience a genial glow of affection, when I consider, that I am writing to a prince of the amiable House of Brunswick; and I shall not deceive by falsehood and flattery, the King in whose service I would gladly adventure my life.\*

There is something so extremely unfortunate in your Majesty's present situation, and the measures of your Ministers are so obviously wrong, that it would be unpardonable not to advise you, it would be infamous to be silent.

To the pernicious bias of your Majesty's education, your subjects attribute much of that unhappiness under which they labour, and from which they flatter themselves, that the justice of their cause, aided by the paternal goodness of your heart, will not fail to relieve them.

*Kings are too seldom acquainted with the language of truth; and it has been your fatal lot never to have heard it, till it reached you in the complaints of your people. But surely the errors of education may be corrected, and the pernicious lessons you have received, may be brought to yield to the force of reason, and the general good of ten millions of people.*

*Your subjects, Sir, are far from imputing the evils they groan under to any natural turpitude in the heart of their Sovereign, or from thinking him capable of a deliberate intention to destroy those rights which his ancestors were called to defend. If they were capable of*

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\* "Sir, the man who addresses you in these terms is your best friend. He would willingly hazard his life in defence of your title to the crown." (Junius's Preface, par. 14.)

## LETTER XXXV.

*To the Printer of the Public Advertiser.*

19th December, 1769.

SIR,

When the complaints of a brave and powerful people are observed to encrease in proportion to the wrongs they have suffered; when, instead of sinking into submission, they are roused to resistance, the time will soon arrive at which every inferior consideration must yield to the security of the Sovereign, and to the general safety of the state. There is a moment of difficulty and danger, at which flattery and falsehood can no longer deceive, and simplicity itself can no longer be misled. Let us suppose it arrived. Let us suppose a gracious, well-intentioned prince, made sensible at last of the great duty he owes to his people,\* and of his own disgraceful situation; that he looks round him for assistance, and asks for no advice, but how to gratify the wishes, and secure the happiness of his subjects. In these circumstances, it may be matter of curious SPECULATION to consider,† if an honest man were permitted to approach a King, in what terms he would address himself to his<sup>s</sup> Sovereign. Let it be imagined, no matter how improbable, that the first prejudice against his character is removed, that the ceremonious difficulties of an audience are surmounted, that he feels himself animated by the purest and most honourable affections to his King and country, and that the great person whom he addresses, has spirit enough to bid him speak freely, and understanding enough to listen to him with attention. Unacquainted with the vain impertinence of forms, he would deliver his sentiments with dignity and firmness, but not without respect.

SIR,

*It is the misfortune of your life, and originally the cause of every reproach and distress which has attended your government, that you should never have been acquainted with the language of truth, until you heard it in the complaints of your people. It is not however too late to correct the error of your education. We are still inclined to make an indulgent allowance for the pernicious lessons you received in your youth, and to form the most sanguine hopes from the natural benevolence of your disposition. We are far from thinking you capable of a direct, deliberate purpose to invade those original rights of*

\* "Let us begin with the most favourable supposition, and imagine a Prince whose intentions are in every case thoroughly good." (Essay, p. 157.)

† "It might be matter of curious discussion to inquire." (Essay, p. 25.)

*Original Letter.*

*entertaining sentiments so much to his prejudice, they would not deliberate what part to act: but they are convinced, that it is not to their King, but to his evil counsellors, that they are to lay the heavy charge of having invaded the sacred rights which their ancestors purchased with their best blood; and which will never be wholly resigned till Englishmen shall cease to retain the idea of liberty.*

As the subject on which I write, strikes me in a light of the utmost importance, I must be excused for using all that plainness and sincerity which ought to mark the style of the writer whose subject is of the highest possible importance; and who is labouring for what ought to be dearer to him than life itself. Prepare yourself, therefore, Sir, for a simple retrospection of several matters which it highly imports you to take into your consideration.

*When your Majesty first ascended the throne, you declared your resolution of giving universal satisfaction to your subjects; and your sincerity in this declaration was not doubted. After this period, the loyalty of your subjects more than kept pace with your Majesty's professions; and the prince, who boasted that he was born a Briton,*

*was, in a moment, the darling, the favourite of the people. They did not wait till experience should inform them how much credit ought to be given to promises and professions, but yielded up their affections with all the eagerness of passion.*

*Such are the people, Sir, who now address you with repeated, though unavailing complaints. Listen to them, I beseech you, ere it be too late, and afford your subjects that relief which they have a right to expect at your hands. Let me intreat you, Sir, to do justice to yourself, by banishing from your mind those unworthy suspicions of your best friends, with which those who pretend to that character have been assiduous to possess you. Those who tell you that the English are a light and inconstant people, and that their present complaints are ill founded, deserve your severest reprehension. A King should be of no party, nor ever listen to the insinuations of those who would alienate his mind from the interests of the majority of his subjects.*

Immediately on your Majesty's ascent to the throne, a partial preference was shewn to your Scotch subjects, who were almost univer-

## Letter XXXV.

*your subjects, on which all their civil and political liberties depend. Had it been possible for us to entertain a suspicion so dishonourable to your character, we should long since have adopted a style of remonstrance very distant from the humility of complaint. The doctrine inculcated by our laws, "That the King can do no wrong," is admitted without reluctance. We separate the amiable good-natured prince, from the folly and treachery of his servants, and the private virtues of the man, from the vices of his government. Were it not for this just distinction, I know not whether your Majesty's condition or that of the English nation, would deserve most to be lamented. I would prepare your mind for a favourable reception of truth, by removing every painful, offensive idea of personal reproach. Your subjects, Sir, wish for nothing but that, as they are reasonable and affectionate enough to separate your person from your government, so you, in your turn, should distinguish between the conduct, which becomes the permanent dignity of a King, and that which serves only to promote the temporary interest and miserable ambition of a minister.*

*You ascended the throne with a declared, and, I doubt not, a sincere resolution of giving universal satisfaction to your subjects. You found them pleased with the novelty of a young prince, whose countenance promised even more than his words, and loyal to you not only from principle, but passion. It was not a cold profession of loyalty to the first magistrate, but a partial, animated attachment to a favourite prince, the native of their country.*

*They did not wait to examine your conduct, nor to be determined by experience, but gave you a generous credit for the future blessings of your reign, and paid you in advance the dearest tribute of their affections. Such, Sir, was once the disposition of a people who now surround your throne with reproaches and complaints. Do justice to yourself. Banish from your mind those unworthy opinions, with which some interested persons have laboured to possess you. Distrust the men who tell you that the English are naturally light and inconstant;—that they complain without a cause. Withdraw your confidence equally from all parties; from ministers, favourites, and relations; and let there be one moment in your life, in which you have consulted your own understanding.*

*When you affectedly renounced the name of Englishman, believe*

*Original Letter.*

sally promoted to the places of trust and dignity, to the preclusion of your more loyal subjects South of the Tweed. This was certainly very impolitic; for, *exclusive of the consideration, that the Scots had been repeatedly engaged in acts of rebellion*, their numbers are so inconsiderable, proportioned to those of your English and Irish subjects, that they had not an equitable claim to a tenth part of the power they possessed. I am well aware, that they pretend to an immoderate zeal for the House of Hanover; but, perhaps, the best proof they have given of the sincerity of their professions, is, their unshaken fidelity to the Stuart race. A cautious man would be tempted to suspect the fidelity of such friends, and would not readily be brought to believe, that a nation which had risen in arms against his immediate predecessor, could be in earnest in its pretensions of being devoted solely to his interest.

But this fatality of sentiment in your Majesty, this predilection in favour of the ancient enemies of your house, is in great measure attributable to *that original bias in your education for which we are very ready to make every possible allowance. To this bias it is likewise owing, that your Majesty has descended so much below your true dignity, as not only to take part in the narrow views and interests of particular persons, but even to assist the low spleen of their passions.*

*Very soon after the demise of the late King, almost all the able and honest servants of the crown were removed, to make way for the Friends of the Favourite, who were immediately elevated to honours, which they had no merit to deserve, nor the least title to expect. It is true, the good old friends of George the Second were not disgraced by this removal; for the people had been long acquainted with their merits, and held their names in the most perfect veneration.*

The next fatal step, Sir, that disgraced the annals of your reign, and to which, it is not improbable, much of your present uneasiness is owing, was the late peace with France; a peace that has been the ridicule of all Europe, from that period to the present. *From the eagerness with which the first overtures of our enemies were accepted,—from the terms of the treaty itself, and from the whole conduct of that affair, it has been almost universally believed, that certain persons were considerable gainers by the bargain. But every one acquits your Majesty of even the shadow of imputation.—Your conduct, Sir, we doubt not, was strictly honourable; and, we believe, that if the peace was sold, your Majesty was betrayed and insulted.*

*Letter XXXV.*

me, Sir, you were persuaded to pay a very ill-judged compliment to one part of your subjects at the expence of another. *While the natives of Scotland are not in actual rebellion* they are undoubtedly intitled to protection; nor do I mean to condemn the policy of giving some encouragement to the novelty of their affections for the house of Hanover. I am ready to hope for every thing from their new-born zeal, and from the future steadiness of their allegiance. But hitherto, they have no claim to your favor. To honour them with a determined predilection and confidence, in exclusion of your English subjects, who placed your family, and in spite of treachery and rebellion, have supported it upon the throne, is a mistake too gross even for the unsuspecting generosity of youth. In this error, we see a capital violation of the most obvious

rules of policy and prudence. We trace it, however, *to an original bias in your education, and are ready to allow for your inexperience.*

*To the same early influence we attribute it, that you have descended to take a share not only in the narrow views and interests of particular persons, but in the fatal malignity of their passions. At your accession to the throne, the whole system of government was altered, not from wisdom or deliberation, but because it had been adopted by your predecessor. A little personal motive of pique and resentment was sufficient to remove the ablest servants of the crown; but it is not in this country, Sir, that such men can be dishonoured by the frowns of a King. They were dismissed, but could not be disgraced. Without entering into a minuter discussion of the merits of the peace, we may observe, in the imprudent hurry with which the first overtures from France were accepted, in the conduct of the negotiation, and terms of the treaty, the strongest marks of that precipitate spirit of concession, with which a certain part of your subjects have been at all times ready to purchase a peace with the natural enemies of this country.*

*On your part, Sir, we are satisfied that every thing was honourable and sincere, and if England was sold to France, we doubt not that your Majesty was equally betrayed. The conditions of the peace were matter of grief and surprize to your subjects, but not the immediate*

*Original Letter.*

Fatal consequences, consequences that had not been even suspected, soon began to ensue. *A private gentleman, a person till that time unknown, and undistinguished but in the circle of his acquaintance, conceived a plan of rendering\* the favourite and his peace contemptible ;* and this by means of a periodical publication, he effected in a manner that did equal honour to his spirit and abilities. Lord Bute was only despised till Mr. Wilkes's attack upon him ; but it was not long before he was detested too. The eyes of the people began to be opened, and they beheld with indignation the enemies of their country. One fatal consequence now ensued : your Majesty did Mr. Wilkes the honour of being his enemy, and by that means gave him a consequence, which he would never otherwise have obtained. A blue or a red ribbon would not have half so distinguished him. The people became his friends, because they thought him injured :—it is the generous nature of the English to succour the distressed.

*Perhaps Mr. Wilkes carried matters too far—he not only laboured to make the Earl of Bute, but all his countrymen contemptible---this increased the flame ; the English and Scots were divided into parties, and their enmity was not greater in the year 1745, than it has been since your Majesty's accession to the throne. Your Majesty had unfortunately sided with the Scots ; I say unfortunately, because your English subjects, the most numerous and faithful you have, saw your prepossession with pain, and half withheld their affections, while they beheld their ——— in the chains of the favourite !*

Surely, Sir, this Wilkes was not an object entitled to the honour of your Majesty's personal resentment ! Your anger gave him too much consequence ; and your people have shewn that they are ready to worship the man who has been dignified with the Sovereign's anger ; and the more, perhaps, because they have learnt to think (no matter whether right or not) that the Sovereign had taken the weak side of the argument.

Consider, Sir, I entreat you, whether it be not far below your dignity, thus to enter into the party squabbles of your subjects. *The contention is certainly unworthy of you ; and, in your serious moments of reflection, you must acknowledge that the deliberate destruction of*

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\* *A plan of rendering !*

*Letter XXXV.*

cause of their present discontent. Hitherto, Sir, you had been sacrificed to the prejudices and passions of others. With what firmness will you bear the mention of your own?

*A man not very honourably distinguished in the world, commences a formal attack upon your favourite, considering nothing, but how he might\* best expose his person and principles to detestation, and the national character of his countrymen to contempt.* The natives of that country, Sir, are as much distinguished by a peculiar character, as by your Majesty's favour. Like another chosen people, they have been conducted into the land of plenty, where they find themselves effectually marked, and divided from mankind. There is hardly a period at which the most irregular character may not be redeemed. The mistakes of one sex find a retreat in patriotism; those of the other in devotion. Mr. Wilkes brought with him into politics the same liberal sentiments, by which his private conduct had been directed, and seemed to think, that, as there are few excesses, in which an English gentleman may not be permitted to indulge, the same latitude was allowed him in the choice of his political principles, and in the spirit of maintaining them. I mean to state, not entirely to defend his conduct. *In the earnestness of his zeal, he suffered some unwarrantable insinuations to escape him.* He said more than moderate men would justify; but not enough to entitle him to the honour of Your Majesty's personal resentment. The rays of Royal indignation, collected upon him, served only to illuminate, and could not consume. Animated by the favour of the people on one side, and heated by persecution on the other, his views and sentiments changed with his situation. Hardly serious at first, he is now an enthusiast. The coldest bodies warm with opposition, the hardest sparkle in collision. There is a holy mistaken zeal in politics as well as religion. By persuading others, we convince ourselves. The passions are engaged, and create a maternal affection in the mind, which forces us to love

the cause for which we suffer. *Is this a contention worthy of a King?* Are you not sensible how much the meanness of the cause gives an air of ridicule to the serious difficulties into which you have been betrayed? *the destruction of one man has been now, for many years, the sole object*

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\* "A man commences—considering nothing but how he might!—"

*Original Letter.*

one man is an object of which even your Ministers and their dependants ought to be ashamed : yet, incontestible as this truth is, they seem to have had in view no other point which they thought of equal consequence, for several years past.

It is likewise worth reflecting on, that every ministerial artifice, however zealously and artfully pursued, will be incapable of operating to the destruction of this man, unless he should be weak enough to forfeit the protection of those laws to which, with all your Majesty's other subjects, he is equally entitled.

But, perhaps, some future set of Ministers, still more depraved, if possible, than the present, may entertain thoughts of advising your Majesty to make the debate a question of force alone, and to exert all the powers of government to suppress the clamours (ill-represented as factious ones) of the people. But if this, unfortunately, should be the case, I trust that your people have nothing to fear, and that your Majesty's virtues are a full security that no illegal violence will ever be exerted to the prejudice of the subject.

In fact, Sir, your faithful subjects do not, in the least, imagine that your Majesty has any wish to their prejudice ; and they attribute a late violent attack on the constitution\* to other causes than enmity in the King, to the general welfare of his people. But your Majesty has been ill advised ; and your Ministers having proceeded all along upon false principles, have determined not to act right in any one instance. Thus have they reduced their Sovereign to a very disagreeable dilemma : if he proceeds in the path they have chalked out for him, the consequences may be more fatal than is at present imagined ; and even his receding will be attended with some very mortifying circumstances.

The servants of the crown have carried matters to a shocking extremity ; they have not only elevated Mr. Wilkes to a most extravagant degree of consequence, but by denying his right to a seat to which he was entitled by the suffrages of his countrymen, they have made his cause the cause of the public, and compelled the whole nation to be his friends, upon the principle of self-interest. If your Majesty's ministers determine to persevere in this mode of proceeding, they may lament the consequences, when it will be too late to elude them.

Your ministers having reduced your Majesty to this disagreeable dilemma, it is a pity they have not honour enough to attempt, at least, to extricate you from it. It is the opinion of the judicious, that the

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\* The issue of the Middlesex Election.

## Letter XXXV.

*of your government; and if there can be any thing still more disgraceful, we have seen, for such an object the utmost influence of the executive power, and every ministerial artifice exerted without success. Nor can you ever succeed, unless he should be imprudent enough to forfeit the protection of those laws, to which you owe your crown, or unless your ministers should persuade you to make it a question of force alone, and try the whole strength of government in opposition to the people. The lessons he has received from experience, will probably guard*

*him from such excess of folly; and in your Majesty's virtues we find an unquestionable assurance, that no illegal violence will be attempted.*

*Far from suspecting you of so horrible a design, we should attribute the continual violation of the laws, and even this last enormous attack upon the vital principles of the constitution, as an ill advised, unworthy, personal resentment. From one false step you have been betrayed into another, and as the cause was unworthy of you, your ministers were determined that the prudence of the execution, should correspond with the wisdom and dignity of the design. They have reduced you to the necessity of choosing out of a variety of difficulties; --- to a situation so unhappy, that you can neither do wrong without ruin, nor right without affliction. These worthy servants have undoubtedly given you many singular proofs of their abilities. Not contented with making Mr. Wilkes a man of importance, they have judiciously transferred the question, from the rights and interests of one man, to the most important rights and interests of the people, and forced your subjects from wishing well to the cause of an individual, to unite with him in their own. Let them proceed as they have begun, and your Majesty need not doubt that the catastrophe will do no dishonour to the conduct of the piece.*

*The circumstances to which you are reduced, will not admit of a com-*

*Original Letter.*

*people are too much irritated to accept of a compromise—they would despise and detest a qualifying measure. They have received a material injury, and they expect full and ample satisfaction.\* They expect that the resolution which has been taken, will be formally renounced, and they say this alone can heal the wound which the constitution has received. Your people, Sir, have faith enough to believe, that a Ministry who could obtain a majority to carry the vote in question, could likewise obtain its repeal, by a slight exertion of their influence. They know that, in former instances, the House of Commons has been sufficiently pliable, to obey, without hesitation, the mandates of the Minister, from whom they have derived advantages of a kind which the people never bestow.*

But supposing, Sir, that the present H—— of C—— should sink so low as to undo, at the command of the Minister, all that they have already done ; how would this extricate your Majesty from the

difficulties in which you are involved ? *Is it to be imagined that any form of government could long subsist under such circumstances ? Is it conceivable that the people of England would submit, for any length of time, to such a H—— of C—— ?* When the whole body of the people shall have cause to despise the authority of Parliament, the contempt will be very liable to prove fatal to the existence of such an assembly.

If, therefore, it seems probable that the Parliament would, by conceding, only incur still more the hatred of the public, which is already grown to a prodigious height : it only remains to be considered, *whether your Majesty had not better yield to the intreaties of your people, by a speedy dissolution of the Parliament, than adhere in any resolution to the contrary.*

There is not, in your Majesty's dominions, a single person who has a higher idea of his sovereign's intentions, than the writer of this Letter : and it is from a full conviction of the rectitude of your sentiments, that I write with so honest a freedom. If I thought the seeds of tyranny were sown in your Majesty's heart, I should have

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\* " Above all things, let my guard me countrymen against the meanness and folly of accepting of a trifling [of accepting a trifling] or moderate compensation for extraordinary and essential injuries." (Junius, Let. 59, par. 10, first printed, Oct. 5, 1771.)

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*promise with the English nation. Undecisive, qualifying measures will disgrace your government still more than open violence, and, without satisfying the people, will excite their contempt. They have too much understanding and spirit to accept of an indirect satisfaction for a direct injury. Nothing less than a repeal, as formal as the resolution itself, can heal the wound, which has been given to the constitution, nor will any thing less be accepted. I can readily believe, that there is an influence sufficient to recal that pernicious vote. The House of Commons undoubtedly consider their duty to the crown as paramount to all other obligations.*

To us they are only indebted for an accidental existence, and have justly transferred their gratitude from their parents to their benefactors; from those who gave them birth, to the minister, from whose benevolence they derive the comforts and pleasures of their political life; who has taken the tenderest care of their infancy, and relieves their necessities without offending their delicacy. But, if it were possible for their integrity to be degraded to a condition\* so vile and abject, that compared with it, the present estimation they stand in, is a state of honour and respect, consider, Sir, in what manner you will afterwards proceed.

*Can you conceive that the people of this country will long submit to be governed by so flexible a House of Commons? It is not in the nature of human society, that any form of government, in such circumstances, can long be preserved. In ours, the general contempt of the people is as fatal as their detestation. Such, I am persuaded, would be the necessary effect of any base concession made by the present House of Commons, and, as a qualifying measure would not be accepted, it remains for you to decide whether you will, at any hazard, support a set of men, who have reduced you to this unhappy dilemma, or whether you will gratify the united wishes of the whole people of England, by dissolving the Parliament.*

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\* Integrity degraded to a condition!

*Original Letter.*

no doubt but that the labours of my pen would be wholly fruitless : but I have warmer expectations ; and I flatter myself that a Letter thus publicly addressed to a Prince of your Majesty's known clemency and benignity of soul, may obtain a reading, and be the happy means of producing an effect, that will eternize your Majesty's name, in the hearts of millions yet unborn.

*In truth, Sir, I most firmly believe that you have no design in pre-judice to the principles of the constitution ; and that the general welfare of all your subjects is the first wish that animates your breast. How, therefore, Sir, can you hesitate to adopt a measure which so evidently tends equally to advance your interest and your honour ? Let me suppose, Sir, (disagreeable as the supposition is) that a perseverance in the present measures should, in the end, alienate the affections of your English subjects, and, of consequence, endanger the future establishment of your august house. Is there not, Sir, a possibility that you are in some degree of danger from this question ? And have you any object in view, to be put in competition with so important a consideration ? The laws have already severely punished the man who is supposed to be dignified with the honour of royal resentment. If it be possible, Sir, think no more of him ; do not honour him even with your contempt.*

*If it should happen that your Majesty's subjects should not struggle for the preservation of those liberties which they conceive to be infringed, or for the recovery of those which they imagine to be lost ; if this circumstance, I say, should not happen, yet your Majesty is making yourself unhappy for no reason in the power of man to assign.*

*But if on the contrary, the spirit which has always distinguished the people of this kingdom should be so far raised, as that, regardless of all distinction between the Sovereign and the subject, they should have recourse to the last great expedient, it may not be unworthy of enquiry how your Majesty would be supported, and on which part of your subjects you might with most security depend.\**

*The Americans, from their local situation, have it not in their power to take an active concern in your affairs, if they were even more disposed to acts of loyalty than they are generally supposed to be. It is true, that in the first instance in which they thought themselves aggrieved, they made a very just distinction between the King and his Ministers.*

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\* "What, therefore, will be the resource of the Sovereign, if into that army on the assistance of which he relies, the same party spirit creeps, by which his other subjects are actuated ? Whereto will he take his refuge ?" (Essay, p. 446.)

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*Taking it for granted, as I do very sincerely, that you have personally no design against the constitution, nor any views inconsistent with the good of your subjects, I think you cannot hesitate long upon the choice, which it equally concerns your interest and your honour to adopt. On one side, you hazard the affections of all your English subjects ; you*

*relinquish every hope of repose to yourself, and you endanger the establishment of your family for ever. All this you venture for no object whatsoever, or for such an object, as it would be an affront to you to name. Men of sense will examine your conduct with suspicion ; while those who are incapable of comprehending to what degree they are in-*

*jured, afflict you with clamours equally insolent and unmeaning. Supposing it possible that no fatal struggle should ensue, you determine at once to be unhappy, without the hope of a compensation either from interest or ambition. If an English King be hated or despised, he must be unhappy ; and this perhaps is the only political truth, which he ought to be convinced of without experiment. But if the English people should no longer confine their resentment to a submissive representation of their wrongs ; if, following the glorious example of their ancestors, they should no longer appeal to the creature of the constitution, but to that high Being, who gave them the rights of humanity, whose gifts it were sacrilege to surrender, let me ask you, Sir, upon what part of your subjects would you rely for assistance ?*

*\* The distance of the colonies would make it impossible for them to take an active concern in your affairs, if they were as well affected to your government as they once pretended to be to your person. They were ready enough to distinguish between you and your Ministers.*

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*\* For the purpose of bringing their parallel passages into collateral situations, this and the succeeding paragraph are transposed.*

*Original Letter.*

They insisted, indeed, that they had been deprived of their just rights by an act of the Legislature ; but they did not charge the Sovereign with any violation of their franchises. They rested it where it ought to be rested, with the Ministry. They flattered themselves that their King would act in a manner consistent with the strictest impartiality ; and if this should be the case, they imagined they had nothing to fear. *But the necessary distinctions (from what cause I will not presume to say) between the King and his Ministers, are now banished from their minds. They assert that their Sovereign has taken an active part against them ; and they consider him as united with a venal and corrupt P—— to oppress them.*

The Americans, Sir, appear by their present conduct to anticipate the hour when they shall be totally independent of all sovereign rule : *but if they shall long submit to any King, it will be to him who at present rules over them.* This, however, is, I fear, rather to be wished than expected : for the descendants of those gallant men, *who left their native country, and sought for freedom and found it in the wilds of America,* will be extremely tenacious of those sacred rights to which every man is equally born. Be this as it will, they are certainly, at present, rather partizans against, than loyal subjects to your Majesty : and if ever their affections be wholly regained, it must be at the expence of more and greater concessions than your Majesty and your Parliament will be, probably, willing to make.

Upon the whole, therefore, in case the public affairs should much longer be carried with so high a hand as they have been for some years past, *it is not from your Majesty's subjects of America that you are to look for assistance,* when the hour shall arrive in which you may have most need of such assistance.

Your Majesty's subjects of Ireland, though by their situation, much more able than the Americans, to afford the wished relief, are, perhaps, not at all more ready to extend the helping hand ; for their murmurs and complaints are very little inferior to those of the Colonists. They assert that, with a very few exceptions, all their Governors, for a long succession of years, have joined in the settled plan, *by which they have been plundered and oppressed. Their present Viceroy, Sir, is the object of their contempt and detestation, because they consider him as the tool of the imperious thane ; and they are but too apt to think unfavourably of their Sovereign, for yielding to such a nomina-*

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They complained of an act of the legislature, but traced the origin of it no higher than to the servants of the crown : They pleased themselves with the hope, that their Sovereign, if not favourable to their

cause, at least was impartial. *The decisive, personal part you took against them, has effectually banished that first distinction from their minds. They consider you as united with your servants against America, and know how to distinguish the Sovereign and venal parliament on one side, from the real sentiments of the English people on the other. Looking forward to independence, they might possibly receive you for their king ; but, if ever you retire to America, be assured they will give you such a covenant to digest, as the presbytery of Scotland would have been ashamed to offer to Charles the second. They left their native land in search of freedom, and found it in a desert. Divided as they are into a thousand forms of policy and religion, there is one point in which they all agree :—They equally detest the pageantry of a king, and the supercilious hypocrisy of a bishop,*

*It is not then from the alienated affections of Ireland or America, that you can reasonably look for assistance ; still less from the people of England, who are actually contending for their rights, and in this great question, are parties against you.*

*The people of Ireland have been uniformly plundered and oppressed. In return, they give you every day fresh marks of their resentment. They despise the miserable governor you have sent them, because he is a creature of Lord Bute ; nor is it from any natural confusion in their ideas that they are so ready to confound the original of a King with the disgraceful representation of him.*

*Original Letter.*

tion. The pensions with which the Irish Establishment is loaded, afford ample subject for complaint ; and it is not quite an easy matter for a people to retain all their loyalty and affection, when they are thus drained of almost all their money, which is the life of their commerce, the vital soul of a trading nation.

If there be any force in the preceding arguments, your Majesty must acknowledge that, in case the fatal period, which all good subjects deprecate, should ever arrive, you are not to place your dependence on the affections of your American subjects ; still less, perhaps, is your security to be expected from those of England : for the English are at length so animated in the sacred cause of liberty, that they are become partizans in the general quarrel.

This being the case, where is your Majesty to look for assistance ? From what quarter will you most probably receive it ? The Scots, if present appearances may be credited, would stand up in your defence. But I am much afraid that your hopes from that quarter would be frustrated ; for if the uniform experience of your Royal predecessors may be allowed to have any weight, the Scots will deceive you as they have done them.

*Loyalty, Sir, is not to be expected from a people who have been nursed in the arms of Rebellion ; and 'tis a glaring absurdity in politics, for a Prince of the line of Brunswick to expect his best friends among the notorious abettors of the house of Stuart.*

You cannot but be acquainted, Sir, that the Scots have been guilty of betraying a King, to whom they considered themselves as more closely united, than to any Sovereign of your family.

*When the unfortunate Charles fled from the dreadful fury of his English subjects, in what manner was he received by his own countrymen : they paid him a forced respect, and complimented, while they meant to betray him. This they actually did, they made a scandalous bargain with the Parliament of England, and delivered their unfortunate countryman to the mercy of his enemies. You know, Sir, the sequel of that Monarch's story ; and now permit me again to ask you what dependence is to be had on such subjects ? For the sentiments of the Scots are still the same, and whatever outward professions they may*

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You are not, however, destitute of every appearance of support : You have all the Jacobites, Non-jurors, Roman Catholics, and Tories of this country, add all Scotland without exception. Considering from what Family you are descended, the choice of your friends has been singularly directed ; and truly, Sir, if you had not lost the Whig interest of England, I should admire your dexterity in turning the hearts of your enemies. Is it possible for you to place any confidence in men, who, before they are faithful to you, must renounce every opinion, and betray every principle, both in church and state, which they inherit from their ancestors, and are confirmed in by their education? whose numbers are so inconsiderable, that they have long since been obliged to give up the principles and language which distinguish them as a party, and to fight under the banners of their enemies? Their zeal begins with hypocrisy, and must conclude in treachery. At first they deceive, at last they betray.

As to the Scotch, I must suppose your heart so biassed from your earliest infancy, in their favour, that nothing less than *your own misfortunes* can undeceive you. You will not accept of the uniform experience of your ancestors ; and when once a man is determined to believe, the very absurdity of the doctrine confirms him in his faith. *A bigotted understanding can draw a proof of attachment to the house of Hanover from a notorious zeal for the house of Stuart, and find an earnest of future loyalty in former rebellions.* Appearances are, however, in their favour : so strongly indeed, that one would think they had forgotten that you are their lawful king, and had mistaken you for a pretender to the crown. Let it be admitted then that the Scotch are as sincere in their present professions as if you were really not an Englishman, but a Briton of the North. You would not be the first prince of their native country against whom they have rebelled, nor the first whom they have basely betrayed. Have you forgotten, Sir, or has your favourite concealed from you, that part of our history, *when the unhappy Charles (and he too had private virtues) fled from the open and avowed indignation of his English subjects, and surrendered himself at discretion to the good faith of his own countrymen. Without looking for support in their affections as subjects, he applied only to their honour as Gentlemen, for protection. They received him as they would your Majesty, with bows, and smiles, and falsehood, and kept him until they had settled their bargain with the English parliament, then basely sold their native king to the vengeance of his enemies.* This, Sir, was not the act of a few traitors, but the deliberate treachery of a Scotch.

*Original Letter.*

make, it is not in their nature to be friends to the house of Brunswick.

What is still more absurd, the Nonjurors and the Jacobites of the English nation, pretend to pay you the tribute of their warmest affections: but it cannot be that your Majesty will place any degree of confidence in men, who must give up every former principle, and renounce every former opinion, before they can be sincere in their professions of attachment to an English Protestant Prince. I will, therefore, not waste arguments to prove what is so self-evident; but leave the Jacobites and Nonjurors with that neglectful indifference, in which they ought to be held by your Majesty.

It is not true, as hath been asserted by a celebrated writer,\* that the Roman Catholics of this kingdom are among your adherents. I speak this from experience; from an actual acquaintance with many Roman Catholic families, who, though good subjects, are by no means abettors of those measures of Government which have of late years been adopted. On the contrary, they have heard and read too much of the arbitrary proceedings of Catholic Sovereigns towards their subjects, not to be warm friends to the cause of liberty, and such they will be found to be upon all occasions.

Hitherto, Sir, the prospect before us is rather gloomy, but let us examine a little farther into the subject, before we draw a final conclusion. It is not impossible but your Majesty might look for that assistance from the army, which might not so easily be found from other quarters. But do not deceive yourself, Sir;—the Third Regiment of Guards, indeed, might, possibly think of taking part with that Ministry by whom they have been so much caressed; but it is not to be supposed that the general body of the troops, even trained as they have been in the strict severities of military discipline, will obey the command of those officers who may bid them draw the sword against their friends and relations. Will the husband and the father arm against the wife and the child? Will the son aim at the destruction of the mother? Or will the brother dip his sword in his brother's blood?—No—truly—it is out of nature to suppose that these things will happen; and I most fervently pray that the day may never arrive in which the fatal experiment shall be made.

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\* Junius.

† I speak this!

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parliament representing the nation. A wise prince might draw from it two lessons of equal utility to himself. On one side he might learn to dread the undiagnosed resentment of a generous people, who dare openly assert their rights, and who, in a just cause, are ready to meet their Sovereign in the field. On the other side, he would be taught to apprehend something far more formidable;—a fawning treachery, against which no prudence can guard, no courage can defend. The insidious smile upon the cheek would warn him of the canker in the heart.

From the uses\* to which one part of the army has been too frequently applied, you have some reason to expect, that there are no services they would refuse. Here too we trace the partiality of your understanding. You take the sense of the army from the conduct of the guards, with the same justice with which you collect the sense of the people from the representations of the ministry. Your marching regiments, Sir, will not make the guards their example either as soldiers or subjects. They feel and resent, as they ought to do, that invariable undistinguishing favour with which the guards are treated; while those gallant troops by whom every hazardous, every laborious service is performed, are left to perish in garrisons abroad, or pine in quarters at home, neglected and forgotten. If they had no sense of the great original duty they owe their country, their resentment would operate like patriotism, and leave your cause to be defended by those, to whom you have lavished† the rewards and honours of their profession. The Prætorian Bands, enervated and debauched as they were, had still strength enough to awe the Roman populace: but when the distant legions took the alarm, they marched to Rome, and gave away the empire.‡

On this side, then, which ever way you turn your eyes, you see nothing but perplexity and distress. You may determine to support the very ministry who have reduced your affairs to this deplorable situation: you may shelter yourself under the forms of a parliament, and set your people at defiance. But be assured, Sir, that such a resolution would be as imprudent as it would be odious. If it did not immediately shake your establishment, it would rob you of your peace of mind for ever.

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\* From the *uses*!

† To whom you have *lavished*!

‡ He [Cæsar] marched his army to Rome, and established a military despotism.—(Essay, p. 214.)

*Original Letter.*

*Let it now be considered whether your Majesty has not an easy and honourable plan to adopt, by which all the dreaded evils of intestine commotion may be readily avoided. Your Majesty's subjects, Sir, and a great majority of them, notwithstanding what your courtiers may insinuate to the contrary,) complain that the present H—— of C—— have violated the trust reposed in them, for the general welfare of the public. You are not unacquainted, Sir, that the power of that house is not an original, but a delegated power: nor that those who confer power on others, have a right to recal the vote by which such power was conferred, when they find it abused to their prejudice: nor is your Majesty yet to learn that the constitution has made the power of dissolution a part of the Royal prerogative. Exert, therefore, Sir, that part of the prerogative, and at once give content to a whole nation: inspire millions with sentiments of gratitude!*

*'Tis on our King, Sir, and on him alone, that we rely for the redress of those grievances, under which we groan, and respecting which we have hitherto complained in vain. The Lords of Parliament have no legal right to interfere in decisions of the Commons; much less ought the Commons themselves to be made judges in their own cause.*

*The violation of the rights of the people in the case of the Middlesex Election, is as much a violation of those rights, as if every legally chosen member of the house had been ousted from his place, to make room for the candidate who had fewest votes; and the freeholders of York, of Devonshire, or Cornwall, have just the same cause of complaint, as if the Members of their own choice had been denied their seats: for if this dangerous precedent be established in one instance, there is no saying how far the contagion may spread; and the fatal period may soon arrive, when we shall have no House of Commons at all; or, which is just the same thing, a House of Commons entirely devoted to the will of the Minister. In that case, the condition of the people of England, will be worse than that of the slavish inhabitants of Turkey; and, instead of laying at the mercy of one tyrant, they will be doomed to bear the insults of five hundred. Then will their trade be cramped, their finances exhausted, still more than at present, in the support of the idle drones of a court; and even their persons be no longer under the protection of those laws which have been, for ages, the boast and the blessing of this country.*

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On the other, how different is the prospect ! *How easy, how safe and honourable is the path before you ! The English nation declare they are grossly injured by their representatives*, and solicit your Majesty to exert your lawful prerogative, and give them an opportunity of recalling a trust, which they find, has been scandalously abused. *You are not to be told, that the power of the House of Commons is not original, but delegated to them for the welfare of the people from whom they received it.* A question of right arises between the constituent and the representative body. By what authority shall it be decided ? Will your Majesty interfere in a question in which you have properly no immediate concern ?—It would be equally odious and unnecessary.

*Shall the Lords be called upon to determine the rights and privileges of the Commons ?* They cannot do it without a flagrant breach of the constitution. Or will you refer it to the judges ?—They have often told your ancestors, that the law of parliament is above them. What party\* then remains, but to leave it to the people to determine for themselves ? They alone are injured ; and since there is no superior power to which the cause can be referred, they alone ought to determine.

I do not mean to perplex you with a tedious argument upon a subject so discussed, that inspiration could hardly throw a new light upon it. There are, however, two points of view, in which it particularly imports your Majesty to consider the late proceedings of the House of Commons. By depriving a subject of his birth-right, they have attributed to their own vote an authority equal to an act of the whole legislature ; and though, perhaps, not with the same motives, have strictly followed the example of the long parliament, which first declared the regal office useless, and soon after, with as little ceremony, dissolved the House of Lords. The same pretended power, which robs an English subject of his birth-right, may rob an English King of his crown. In another view, the resolution of the House of Commons, apparently not so dangerous to your Majesty, is still more alarming to your people. Not contented with divesting one man of his right, they have set aside a return as illegal, without daring to censure those officers, who were particularly apprized of Mr. Wilkes's incapacity,

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\* What party (*partie*) for—What part !

*Original Letter.*

Is not this, Sir, a horrid picture? And yet even a child in politics must see that it is a just one: but there is yet a farther light, in which your Majesty, at least, ought to view the late arbitrary proceedings of the House of Commons. *How are you certain, Sir, that a body of men, who, in the person of Mr. Wilkes, have violated the privileges of all their fellow-subjects, will long retain their obedience to their sovereign? What security have you, that men who are permitted to go these lengths with impunity, will not make one stride farther—and—but the thought is too dreadful: my loyalty will not permit my pen to write, what my soul is shocked but to think of.*

Granting, however, Sir, for the sake of argument, that all the fatal consequences which I forbode should not happen: what advantage, what possible advantage, can your Majesty expect to reap by a continued quarrel with your subjects? Can a King of England enjoy the repose even of a single day, while his only true friends are daily surrounding his throne with complaints of the ill-conduct of his Ministers and Parliament; and incessant petitions and remonstrances for redress?

*It has been urged, that if the present parliament should be dissolved, a new one would not be less at the devotion of the Minister, while he has the command of the Treasury. There may be some force, Sir, in this observation; but if your Majesty would but comply with the united supplications of your people, by sending them to a new choice of representatives, no blame would then rest on the King; and if the people should be weak and wicked enough to re-elect the majority of the present House of Commons, or to choose others of like prostitution of sentiment, the fault would be entirely their own, and they would be left without the least foundation for future complaint.*

But there is another consideration: does it necessarily follow that every Prime Minister of this country should be absolute lord and master of the public money? A wise King might possibly not think it beneath his dignity to place himself at the head of his treasury; nor would a loyal and a generous people (and such the English confessedly are) think their property ill-placed in the hands of a monarch,

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not only by the declaration of the House, but expressly by the writ directed to them, and who, nevertheless, returned him as duly elected. The house rejected the majority of votes, the only criterion by which our laws judge of the sense of the people: they have transferred the right of election from the collective to the representative body; and by these acts, taken separately, or together, they have essentially altered the original constitution of the House of Commons. Versed, as your Majesty undoubtedly is, in the English History, it cannot easily escape you, how much it is your interest, as well as your duty, to prevent one of the three estates from encroaching upon the province of the other two, or assuming the authority of them all. *When once they have departed from the great constitutional line, by which all their proceedings should be directed, who will answer for their future moderation? Or what assurance will they give you, that, when they have trampled upon their equals, they will submit to a superior?* Your Majesty may learn hereafter, how nearly the slave and tyrant are allied.

*Some of your council, more candid than the rest, admit the abandoned profligacy of the present House of Commons, but oppose their dissolution upon an opinion, I confess not very unwarrantable, that their successors would be equally at the disposal of the treasury. I cannot persuade myself that the nation will have profited so little by experience. But if that opinion were well-founded, you might then gratify our wishes at an easy rate, and appease the present clamour against your government, without offering any material injury to the favourite cause of corruption.*

You have still an honourable part to act. The affections of your subjects may still be recovered. But before you subdue *their* hearts, you must gain a noble victory over your own. Discard those little personal resentments, which have too long directed your public conduct. Pardon this man the remainder of his punishment; and if resentment still prevails, make it, what it should have been long since, an act not of mercy but contempt. He will soon fall back into his natural station,---a silent senator, and hardly supporting the weekly eloquence of a newspaper. The gentle breath of peace would leave him on the surface, neglected and unremoved. It is only the tempest that lifts him from his place.

*Original Letter.*

whose safety and happiness they consider as the best pledge of their own. I forbear, however, to enlarge on this subject, as the thought of a King being his own treasurer is wholly new; and those who will not take pains to reflect on the subject, may possibly pronounce it wholly ridiculous.

I am tempted to hope that matters are not come to such a crisis, but that they may be retrieved with equal honour to your Majesty, and advantage to your subjects. It remains with you, Sir, to determine, whether you will or will not remove every cause of complaint. Your subjects declare, that they labour under the most intolerable grievances, and look up to their King for relief. This relief you can afford them, by the breath of your mouth, without offering the least violence to the principles of the Constitution; nay, by acting in the strictest compliance with them. In one word, dissolve the Parliament: so shall you give peace and satisfaction to your complaining subjects; defeat the ambitious projects of your secret enemies; and establish to yourself the most honourable of all princely titles, that of—The Good.

*Let not my sentiments disgust you, Sir, because they may be delivered with freedom; nor slight the advice that is unasked. No PRIVATE SUBJECT HAS YET SINGLY ADDRESSED YOUR MAJESTY BY LETTER.* Curiosity may possibly tempt you to read this Epistle. Let prudence, virtue, and honour inspire you with the resolution of attending to its importance. If no regard be paid to it, I shall have the satisfaction of having discharged what I conceived to be my duty; but if its contents should operate in the happy manner I could wish, I shall esteem myself the most supremely blest of your Majesty's subjects!

Adieu, Sir! That your Majesty's reign may be long and happy; and that the Crown of these Realms may continue for innumerable ages in your Majesty's August House, shall be my fervent prayer. I will ask no pardon for having taken that freedom which *virtue has inspired.*

THE END.

*Letter XXXV.*

Without consulting your minister, call together your whole council, Let it appear to the public that you can determine and act for yourself. Come forward to your people. Lay aside the wretched formalities of a King, speak to your subjects with the spirit of a man, and in the language of a gentleman. Tell them you have been fatally deceived. The acknowledgement will be no disgrace, but rather an honour to your understanding. Tell them you are determined to remove every cause of complaint against your government; that you will give your confidence to no man, who does not possess the confidence of your subjects; and leave it to themselves to determine, by their conduct at a future election, whether or no it be in reality the general sense of the nation, that their rights have been arbitrarily invaded by the present House of Commons, and the constitution betrayed. They will then do justice to their representatives and to themselves.

*These sentiments, Sir, and the style they are conveyed in, may be offensive, perhaps, because they are new to you.* Accustomed to the language of courtiers, you measure their affections by the vehemence of their expressions; and, when they only praise you indirectly, you admire their sincerity. But this is not a time to trifle with your fortune. They deceive you, Sir, who tell you that you have many friends, whose affections are founded upon a principle of attachment. The first foundation of friendship is not the power of conferring benefits, but the equality with which they are received, and may be returned. The fortune which made you a King, forbid you to have a friend. It is a law of nature which cannot be violated with impunity. The mistaken Prince, who looks for friendship, will find a favourite, and in that favourite the ruin of his affairs.

The people of England are loyal to the house of Hanover, not from a vain preference of one family to another, but from a conviction that the establishment of that family was necessary to the support of their civil and religious liberties. This, Sir, is a principle of allegiance equally solid and rational;—fit for Englishmen to adopt, and well worthy of your Majesty's encouragement. We cannot long be deluded by nominal distinctions. The name of Stuart, of itself, is only contemptible;—armed with the sovereign authority, their\* principles are formidable. The Prince, who imitates their conduct, should be warned by their example; and while he plumes himself upon the security of his title to the crown, should remember that, as it was acquired by one revolution, it may be lost by another.

JUNIUS.

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\* The name of *Stuart*—their principles!

## CHAPTER VII.

*De Lolme clandestinely adopting entire Chapters of his own Essay.*

As it seems impossible to read the Letters given in the foregoing Chapter, and not be convinced, that one of them was founded upon the other, only two questions remain ;—“ Which of them was written first ? ” And—“ Were they both from the same pen ? ” Though the inferior composition, as before observed, is without a date, arguments of considerable force offer themselves in favour of the conclusion, that the Thirty-Fifth Epistle of JUNIUS was subsequently produced.

The numerous Tracts forming the library in which I found the production published by Woodgate, are all bound in volumes, and arranged and collected with a regard to their several dates. This “ Letter to the King ” is accompanied with eleven other temporary publications, some of which bear the date of 1769, and others that of 1770. Therefore, according to the principle of classification universally observed in forming the volumes of this collection, the article was printed in one of those years. But as the author, in the last paragraph but one, says—

“ No private subject has yet singly addressed your Majesty by Letter,”

And the Epistle of JUNIUS appeared December 21, 1769, and another Address to the King, in the *Morning Chronicle* of the same day, the Pamphlet must have been published in some previous month of that year. Besides that, it is difficult to suppose that any writer would have the impolitic effrontery to present to the public, as an original address, the maimed transcript of a production universally known and admired ;\* and at the same time, be so weak as to refer us, in a marginal note, to the very author from whom he had purloined almost the whole of his publication, the measure would present no temptation, either of profit or honour ; nor would any creditable bookseller be concerned in the practice of so flagrant an imposition.

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\* Junius's Letter was copied into five or six Newspapers,—some of the Magazines ; and also dispersed as a sixpenny pamphlet.

But admitting for a moment, that this "Letter to the King," instead of being the original of the Thirty-Fifth of JUNIUS, was itself a crippled copy of that production, we still have to surmount the difficulty of its being, apparently, the composition of a foreigner. In the ninth paragraph we read,—

"Exclusive of the consideration, that the Scots had been repeatedly engaged in acts of rebellion, their numbers are so inconsiderable, proportioned to those of your English and Irish subjects, that ——"

Here, (to say nothing of *exclusive* for *exclusively*,) *proportioned to, for in comparison of*, is not the mistake of an English author. The succeeding paragraph opens with,—

"But this fatality of sentiment in your Majesty, this predilection in favour of the ancient enemies of your house, is in great measure attributable to ——"

Here the omission of the indefinite article *a* before *great measure*, is at variance with our idiom, whether in composition or verbal discourse.\* In the thirty-fifth paragraph, we find the author saying,—

"I speak this from experience; ——"

"*I speak this*," is too foreign from our long-settled and universal forms of affirmation, to come, by any possibility, from the pen of a native writer. "*I speak this*," for *I say this*, *I aver this*, is not more legitimate than would be,—*I speak it is so*, for *I say it is so*. In the forty-second paragraph, we read,—

"And if the people should be weak and wicked enough to re-elect the majority of the present House of Commons, or to chuse others of like prostitution of sentiment, ——"

Here the omission of the definite article, *the*, before *like prostitution*, will not be considered as the inadvertency of an Englishman. In the twenty-third paragraph, we find the author asking His Majesty whether he had not better yield to the intreaties of his people, than adhere in any resolution to the contrary. In the forty-fifth paragraph, after reminding the King that he has never before been addressed by Letter by

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\* This identical inaccuracy occurs twice in the "Essay on the English Constitution." In page 42, we read,—"*Henry mounting the throne with sword in hand, and in great measure as a conqueror, &c.*" See also page 197. We likewise meet with it in "*Observations on the National Embarrassments*,"—"the power of bestowing rewards might, *in great measure*, be dispensed with." (P. 57.)

any private subject; and intimating his hope, that curiosity may tempt His Majesty to read his epistle, the author adds,—

“ Let Prudence, Virtue, and Honour inspire you with the resolution of attending to its importance.”

The exotic air of “ *the resolution of attending to,*” is too flagrant to be insisted upon. But, indeed, the whole composition, like that of which it is the prototype, is singular and foreign in its aspect. Its general phraseology is *strange*, and forbids the supposition, that it came from the pen of an English author. It was written, then, by a foreigner; and that it was published before JUNIUS addressed the King, the writer’s declaration in the last paragraph but one, unequivocally informs us. But if it was the production of a *foreigner*, it was the production of De Lolme. No one will accede to the former hypothesis, and dissent from the latter.

But if this pamphlet was written even at *any period* previous to March 1772, (the period at which the genuine edition of JUNIUS appeared) it came from the pen of JUNIUS himself; for, in the first paragraph, we read,—

——“ and I shall not deceive by falsehood and flattery *the King, in whose service I would gladly adventure my life,*”—

And in the *Preface* of JUNIUS—

“ Sir, the man who addresses you in these terms, is your best friend. *He would willingly hazard his life in defence of your title to the crown.*”

Passages conveying the same principle of thinking, and tone of expression;—the same mind.\* Again; if this Letter was not composed by JUNIUS, JUNIUS stooped to its adoption; descended to the meanness and the folly of a plagiarism, which, however obscure his original, was certain of speedy detection. The pillaged author, pluming himself upon the *fact*, that he was a model for JUNIUS;

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\* In the 21st paragraph of the Pamphlet, the author says,—“ It is the opinion of the judicious, that the people are too much irritated to accept of a compromise—they would despise and detest a qualifying measure. They have received a material injury, and they expect full and ample satisfaction.” And JUNIUS, in his 59th (dated Oct. 5, 1771,) addresses the people with—“ Above all things, let me guard my countrymen against the meanness and folly of accepting of a trifling or moderate compensation for extraordinary and essential injuries.”

*That Junius was his SATELLITE,—and run  
A brilliant course around his GOLDEN SUN.\*—*

would be eager to give it publicity; and the haughty assailant of Majesty must immediately have lowered his crest.

JUNIUS, as pretty clearly appears, by Number 17 of his *Private Notes* to Woodfall, and as hereafter will be rendered still more evident, was conversant with the publication of Anonymous Pamphlets. This was one in which he had indulged his principles, while he partially disguised his style. It is evident, that the strength and spirit of the piece, (for it possesses much of both) not having saved it from an early oblivion, he was tempted to convert a former failure into present advantage. Alluding, in the note mentioned above, to an article which the printer seems to have deemed dangerous, the author says—

“With the enclosed alterations, I should think our paper might appear. But would it not be the shortest way at once to publish it in an *anonymous pamphlet*?”

If a composition intended for the *Public Advertiser*, might assume the shape of an anonymous pamphlet,—an anonymous pamphlet, transformed by additions, omissions, transpositions, and embellishments, would be as fully accommodated to the columns of the same newspaper. Of detection by the *public* there was little danger; and he was sure that the *author* would never rise in judgment against him. The opportunity embraced in this *original* of the thirty-fifth Letter of JUNIUS, to introduce a commendatory notice of that writer, must not be disregarded. It forms one of the many connecting links between JUNIUS and DE LOLME. Not only does JUNIUS never lose an opportunity of praising JUNIUS, nor DE LOLME neglect, when occasion offers, to extol DE LOLME; but JUNIUS is as solicitous to support the reputation of DE LOLME, as DE LOLME is anxious to advance the renown of JUNIUS. Though the argument to be drawn from this self-attention and reciprocal kindness, would not, of itself, be conclusive, that DE LOLME was JUNIUS; combined with the indication presented to us by a greater number of consentaneous particulars than are common to any *two* writers, it will not fail to have

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\* See Colman's *Beaumont and Fletcher*.

considerable weight. If, for instance, limiting ourselves to the "Essay on the English Constitution," and the thirty-fifth Letter of JUNIUS, we find in the ESSAY, (as introductory to a long *prosopopeia*)—

"If we could for an instant suppose"—

And in the Letter (as leading to another extended sample of the same figure.)

"Let us suppose it arrived: Let it be imagined;"

And, again, read in the Essay,—

"It might be matter of curious discussion to enquire,"

And then in the Letter,—

"It may be matter of curious speculation to consider."

We are involuntarily impressed with the persuasion, that *one* mind was the common parent of all the passages; that is, that the thirty-fifth Letter of JUNIUS was written by DE LOLME. But if this Letter came from the pen of DE LOLME, DE LOLME was also the author of the original draught. Again, if DE LOLME produced both the model and the imitative composition, the fact of imposing on the world a borrowed piece as an original production, is of a nature sufficiently distinct to derive considerable ostensibility from any authentic evidence that, to dress anew his published ideas, and furnish fresh lucubrations from old materials, formed a *habit of that author*.

This learned and "*most ingenious foreigner*," it has been observed, piqued himself upon imposing upon us his *English* works as *native* productions. The nominal concealment necessary to the gratification of this ambition, afforded opportunities, which he never failed to embrace, not only of extolling under *one* signature, the pieces published with *another*, but of reverberating the applause. If, in the *Public Advertiser*, DE LOLME (as *Brutus*) supported *Atticus*; or (as *Modestus*, *Amicus Curiae*, or X. X.) commended JUNIUS, JUNIUS, when he assumed the more stately and permanent figure of *two royal octavos*, held up DE LOLME. Not a single anonymous pamphlet came from his pen without honourable mention either of JUNIUS or DE LOLME; nor did a new edition of the ESSAY leave the press without resounding the name of JUNIUS. But the most adventurous instance of this clandestine self-aid is exhibited in "A Parallel between the English

Constitution and the Former Government of Sweden, by J. L. D. L. LL.D." published by Almon, in 1772. In this piece, the initials in the title page of which (now that De Lolme is so well known as its author) will hardly allow us to call anonymous, the writer, assuming the character of an Englishman, not only adopts the expressions, "our constitution," "our government," "my country," "my countrymen," with as confident a gravity as if he had been born in one of the *Four Counties* ;\* but, to crown the solemnity, introduces, by the ingenious expedient of announcing a quotation from the *ESSAY* on the English Constitution, his own name at full length. Without suspecting that the author is referring us to a work of his own, we read,—

"To speak in the words of *Mons. de Lolme*, from whose account of the English Government I have borrowed many ideas and principles," &c. &c.!

In the original Address to the King, (by a *self-declared* Englishman) we find the name of *JUNIUS* introduced, accompanied with the epithet *celebrated*; and in the "Parallel," see the principal work of *DE LÖLME* commendatorily advertised, by another *self-declared* Englishman. But the more imposing identity of feature between the author of the *ESSAY* and the writer of the *ADDRESS*, published by Woodgate, remains to be produced. The writer of the *EPISTLE* makes that Epistle the basis, the very subject matter, of a second production; and the author of the *ESSAY* deduces from the principles and language of that Essay, another composition. In reading the thirty-fifth Letter of *JUNIUS*, we peruse the anonymous pamphlet published by Woodgate; and in the "Parallel between the English Constitution and the former Government of Sweden," find entire paragraphs, and even chapters, of the *ESSAY*.

In fact, three-fourths of this publication are copied from the said *ESSAY*. We will collate a few of the corresponding passages.

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\* The very first paragraph presents us with—"The late Revolution in Sweden is an event of such a nature as to rouse the most serious attention in all Men, who have the happiness of inhabiting a free country. I have been, therefore, much pleased to see some of *my worthy countrymen*, at the first news of it, immediately taking up their pens, and endeavouring to spread the alarm in the nation."

THE  
CONSTITUTION  
OF  
ENGLAND;  
OR,  
AN ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
*ENGLISH GOVERNMENT;*

In which it is compared with the Republican Form of  
Government, and occasionally with the

OTHER MONARCHIES OF EUROPE.

By J. L. DE LOLME, ADVOCATE,  
CITIZEN OF GENEVA.

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Ponderibus librata suis.

OVID MET. L. I. 13.

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London :

PRINTED BY T. SPILSBURY, IN TOOK'S COURT, CARY STREET;  
AND SOLD BY G. KEARSLEY, IN FLEET STREET.

1775.\*

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\* The Paragraphs of the Essay have here (from page to page) the precedence of those of the PARALLEL, because, though the Essay was not published in English till 1775, the translation was extant previously to the production of the other work.

A  
PARALLEL  
BETWEEN THE  
ENGLISH CONSTITUTION  
AND THE  
FORMER GOVERNMENT OF SWEDEN;

CONTAINING

*Some Observations on the late Revolution in that Kingdom;  
and an Examination of the Causes that secure us against  
both Aristocracy and Absolute Monarchy.*

By J. L. D. L. L. L. D.

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Regemque dedit qui Foedere Certo et premere, et laxar  
posset dare jussus habenas.

Virg. *Æneid.* l. 1.

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London:

SOLD BY ALMON, BOOKSELLER, IN PICCADILLY.

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M,DCCLXXII.

# ESSAY ON THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION,

BY J. L. DE LOLME.

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In general, it may be laid down as a maxim, that power, under any form of Government, must exist, and be trusted somewhere. If the Constitution does not admit of a King, the governing authority is lodged in the hands of Magistrates. If the Government, at the same time it is a limited one, bears a Monarchical form, those shares of power that are retrenched from the King's prerogative, most likely continue to subsist, and are vested in a Senate, or Assembly of great Men, under some other name of the like kind.

Thus, in the kingdom of Sweden, which having been a limited Monarchy, may supply examples very applicable to the Government of this country, we find that the power of convoking the several States (or Parliament) of that kingdom, had been taken from the crown; but at the same time, we also find that the Swedish Senators had invested themselves with that essential branch of power which the crown had lost.

The power of the Swedish King, to confer offices and employments; had been also very much abridged. But what was wanting to the power of the King, the Senate enjoyed: it had the nomination of three persons for every vacant office, out of whom the King was to choose one.

The King of Sweden, had but a limited power in regard to pardoning offenders; but the Senate likewise possessed what was wanting to that branch of his prerogative; and it appointed two persons, without the consent of whom the King could not remit the punishment of any offence.

The King of England has an exclusive power in regard to foreign affairs, war, peace, treaties;—in all that relates to military affairs; he has the disposal of the existing army, of the fleet, &c. The king of Sweden had no such extensive powers; but they nevertheless existed: every thing relating to the above-mentioned objects was transacted in the Assembly of the Senate; the majority decided; the King was

# PARALLEL BETWEEN THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION,

*And the Former Government of Sweden.*

BY J. L. D.L. L.L.D

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POWER, we must lay it down as a principle, power, under any form of Government, must exist somewhere. If the Constitution does not admit of a King, it will be trusted to several Magistrates; if the Government is of a monarchical form, those shares of power that are retrenched from the King, will still subsist, and be lodged, for instance, in a Senate, as was the case in Sweden.

Thus the King of Sweden had not, as our King has, the prerogative of convoking the States of the kingdom; but the Senate was vested with it.

The King of Sweden had but a very limited power with respect to the conferring of offices; while our King has, in that respect, an unlimited prerogative. But what was wanting to the power of the Swedish King, the Senate had it: they had the nomination of three persons, out of whom the King was obliged, by law, to elect one.

Our King has an unlimited right of pardoning offences; the King of Sweden had but a limited one: but the Senate likewise had what was wanting in the power of the King, and appointed two persons, without the advice of whom the king could not remit the punishment of any offence.

Our King has also an unlimited power in all that concerns foreign affairs, war, peace, treaties; in all that relates to the administration of the public revenue, as well as to military affairs; the disposition of the existing army, of the fleet, &c. The king of Sweden had no such extensive powers, but they nevertheless existed; every thing relating to the said objects was transacted in the assembly of the Senate; the ma-

*Essay.*

obliged to submit to it ; and his only privilege consisted in his vote being accounted two.

If we pursue farther our enquiry on the subject, we shall find that the King of Sweden could not raise whom he pleased to the office of Senator, as the King of England can, in regard to the office of member of the Privy Council ; but the Swedish States, in the Assembly of whom the nobility enjoyed most capital advantages, possessed a share of the power we mention, in conjunction with the King ; and in cases of vacancies in the Senate, they elected three persons, out of whom the King was to return one.

The King of England may, at all times, deprive his Ministers of their employments. The King of Sweden could remove no Man from his office ; but the States enjoyed the power that had been denied to the King : and they might deprive of their places both the Senators, and those persons in general who had a share in the Administration.

The king of England has the power of dissolving, or keeping assembled as long as he pleases, his Parliament. The King of Sweden had not that power ; but the States might, of themselves, prolong their duration as they thought proper,

Those persons who think that the prerogative of a King cannot be too much abridged, and that power loses all its influence on the dispositions and views of those who possess it, according to the kind of name used to express those offices by which it is conferred, may be satisfied, no doubt, to behold those branches of power that were taken from a King, distributed to several bodies, and shared in by the representatives of the people : but those who think that power, when parcelled and diffused, is never so well repressed and regulated as when it is confined to a sole indivisible seat, that keeps the Nation united and awake,—those who know that, names by no means altering the intrinsic nature of things, the representatives of the people, as soon as they are vested with independent authority, become *ipso facto*, its masters,—those persons, I say, will not think it a very happy regulation in the former constitution of Sweden, to have deprived the King of prerogatives formerly attached to his office, in order to vest the same either in a Senate, or in the Deputies of the People, and thus to have trusted with a share in the exercise of the public power, those very Men whose constitutional office should have been to watch and restrain it.

*Parallel.*

majority decided there ; the King was obliged to submit to it, and his only privilege lay in his vote being accounted two.

If we follow the comparison, we shall see that our King has the unlimited prerogative of appointing the members of his Privy Council ; and of choosing the persons who, under the name of Ministers, share, under his orders and during his pleasure, in the exercise of the executive power. The King of Sweden, on the contrary, could not raise whom he pleased to the office of Senator, and the states had reserved to themselves the prerogative, in case of vacancies in the Senate, to elect three persons, out of whom the King returned one.

Our King may strike whom he pleases out of the Privy Council ; and, at all times, deprive his Ministers of their several employments. The king of Sweden could remove no Man from his office ; but the States had reserved to themselves the power that had been denied the king, and might deprive of their places the Senators ; or, in general, the persons who had a share in the administration.

Our king has the power of dissolving, proroguing, or keeping assembled, as long as he pleases, his Parliament. The king of Sweden had not that power ; but the States might, of themselves, prolong their duration as they thought proper ; or adjourn to the time they were pleased to prefix.

Persons who think that the number of the prerogatives of a King cannot be too much reduced, and that power loses all its influence on the heart of those who enjoy it, according to the manner in which it has been attained, and the name that has been affixed to it, will be satisfied, no doubt, to see the prerogatives that were taken from a King, distributed to several bodies, and shared by the representatives of the People. But those who think that power, when parcelled and diffused, never is so well repressed, as it is when confined to a sole indivisible seat, that keeps the nation united and awake ; who know that, names by no means altering the nature of things, the representatives of the People, as soon as they are vested with an independent power, become, *ipso facto*, its masters ; those persons, I say, will think it no wise regulation in the former constitution of Sweden, to have deprived the King of the prerogatives usually attached to his office, in order to resist them either in a senate, or the Deputies of the People ; and to have trusted with a share in the power, the very Men whose constitutional reformation was the repressing of it.

*Essay.*

To the indivisibility of the governing authority in England, the community of interest which takes place among all orders of Men, is owing, and from this community of interest rises as a necessary consequence, the liberty enjoyed by all ranks of subjects. This observation has been insisted upon at length in the course of this work. The shortest reflection on the frame of the human heart, suffices to convince us of its truth, and at the same time manifests the danger that could result from making any changes in the form of the existing government by which this general community of interest might be lessened,---unless we are at the same time also determined to believe, that partial Nature forms Men in this Island, of quite other stuff than the selfish and ambitious one of which she ever made them in other countries.

But past experience does not by any means allow us to entertain so pleasing an opinion. The perusal of the history of this country will shew us, that the care of its legislators for the welfare of the subject, always kept pace with the exigencies of their own situation. When through the minority, or easy temper of the reigning Prince, or other circumstances, the dread of a superior power began to be overlooked, the public cause was immediately deserted in a greater or less degree, and pursuit after private influence and lucrative offices took the place of patriotism. When under the reign of Charles the First, the authority of the Crown was for a while utterly annihilated, those very Men who, till then, had talked of nothing but *MAGNA CHARTA* and liberty, instantly endeavoured openly to trample both under foot.

If through the unforeseen operation of some new regulation made to restrain the royal prerogative, or through some sudden public revolution, any particular bodies or classes of individuals were ever to acquire a personal independent share in the exercise of the governing authority, we should behold the public virtue and patriotism of the legislators and great Men immediately cease with its cause, and aristocracy, as it were, watchful of the opportunity, burst out at once, and spread itself over the kingdom.

The Men who are now the ministers, then the partners of the Crown, would instantly set themselves above the reach of the law, and soon after ensure the same privilege to their several supporters or dependants.

Personal and independent power being become the only kind of security of which Men would now shew themselves ambitious, the *Habeas*

*Parallel.*

That it is to such a cause, that is, to the indivisibility of the governing power, and the community of interest it has introduced throughout all parts of the State, we owe the difference so remarkable, between the Code of our Laws and those of other nations, a short reflection on the frame of the human heart will soon satisfy us; unless we are determined to believe that partial Nature forms men, in this blessed island, of quite other stuff than the selfish and ambitious one, of which she ever made them in other countries.

But experience by no means allows of so pleasing an opinion of ourselves. The perusal of our history will shew us that the care of our legislators for the welfare of the subject, always kept pace with the exigences of their own safety. When, through the minority or weak temper of the reigning Prince, or other circumstances, the dread of a common master ceased to operate, the public cause was immediately more or less deserted, and pursuit after honour took the place of patriotism. When the Crown was for awhile annihilated, those very Men who, till then, had spoken of nothing but *MAGNA CHARTA* and liberty, instantly aimed at trampling both under foot.

If, which may God avert, through some unforeseen revolution, we might be so unfortunate as to be brought to parcel a power in whose indivisibility lies the safety of the State : to think of subjects regularly succeeding each other and independently of the Prince, in places of power and public trust; to dream of *rotation*, and such crude schemes of unwary politicians, we should see ourselves, liberty ceasing with its cause, immediately falling into the same condition from which the Swedes have sought at any rate to extricate themselves; and aristocracy as it were, watchful of the moment, bursting out at once, and spreading itself over the kingdom.

The Men who now are Ministers, then the partners of the King, instantly would set themselves above the reach of the law; and soon insure the same privilege to their several dependents.

Power being become the only security of which Men now would show themselves ambitious, our *Habeas Corpus* Act, and in general the laws

*Essay.*

*Corpus* Act, and in general all those laws which subjects of every rank mention with love, and to which they look for protection and safety, would be spoken of with contempt, and mentioned as remedies fit only for countrymen and cities :—it even would not be long before they were set aside, as obstructing the wise and salutary steps of the Senate.

The pretension of an equality of right in all subjects, of whatever rank and order, to their property and personal safety, would soon be looked upon as an old-fashioned doctrine, which the Judge himself would ridicule from the bench. And the liberty of the press, now so universally and warmly vindicated, would, without loss of time, be cried down and suppressed, as only serving to keep up the insolence of a refractory people.

And let us not believe that the mistaken people, whose representatives we now behold making such a firm stand against the *indivisible* power of the crown, would, amidst the general devastation of every thing they hold dear, easily find Men equally disposed to repress the encroaching, while *attainable*, power of a Senate and Body of Nobles.

The time would be no more when the People, upon whatever Men they let their choice fall, are sure to find them ready sincerely to join in the support of every important branch of public liberty.

Present, or expected, personal power and independance on the laws, being now the consequence of the trust of the people, wherever they should apply for servants, they would only meet with betrayers. Corrupting, as it were, every thing they should touch, they could confer no favour upon an individual but to destroy his public virtue ; and to repeat the words used in a former chapter, “ their raising a Man would only be immediately inspiring him with views directly opposite to their own, and sending him to increase the number of their enemies.

All these considerations strongly point out the very great caution which is necessary to be used in the difficult business of laying new restraints on the governing authority. Let therefore the less informed part of the people, whose zeal requires to be kept up by visible objects, look, if they choose, upon the Crown as the only seat of the evils they are exposed to : mistaken notions on their part are less dangerous than political indifference, and they are more easily directed than roused,---but, at the same time, let the more enlightened part of the nation constantly remember, that the constitution only subsists by

*Parallel.*

which all subjects, of every denomination, mention with tenderness, and to which they look for protection and safety, would now be spoken of with contempt, and treated as remedies only fit for countrymen and cities: it, even, would not be long before they were abolished, as obstructing wise and salutary steps of the Senate.

The pretension of an equality of right in all subjects, of whatever rank and order, to their property and to their personal safety, would soon be looked upon as an old-fashioned exploded tenet, which the Judge himself would ridicule from the Bench. And the liberty of the press, above all now so warmly and universally vindicated, suddenly grown obnoxious, would immediately be suppressed, as only serving to keep up the insolency and pride of a refractory people.

And let us not believe that the mistaken people, whose representatives we see making such a firm stand against the undivided power of a king, would, amidst the devastations of every thing they hold dear, easily find Men equally disposed to repress the encroaching, while communicable power of a Senate and Body of Nobles.

The time would be no more when the people, upon whatever men they let their choice fall, are sure to find them ready sincerely and warmly to engage in their cause, and even after accepting the wages of iniquity, still continuing their real friends.

Immediate or expected, personal power and independence, now being the consequence of the trust of the people; whenever they should apply for servants, they would only meet with betrayers, corrupting, as it were, every thing they should touch, their conferring favours upon any individual would be destroying his virtue; and to speak in the words of Mons. De Lolme, from whose account of the English Government I have borrowed many of my ideas and principles, "their raising a Man would be immediately giving him interests completely opposite to theirs, and sending him to join and increase the number of their enemies."

All these considerations strongly point out to us the real foundations as well as dangers of our liberty. Let, therefore, the less informed part of the people, whose zeal requires being kept up by visible objects, think the Crown the only seat of the evils they are exposed to: mistaken notions, on their part, are far less dangerous than political sloth and indifference, and they are more easily directed than roused. But at the same time, let the more enlightened part of the nation always remember that our Constitution only subsists by virtue of its equilibrium; by the thorough separation between power and liberty.

*Essay.*

virtue of a proper equilibrium,---by a line being drawn between power and liberty.

Made wise by the examples of several other nations, by those which the history of this very country affords, let the people in the heat of their struggles in the defence of liberty, always take heed, only to reach, never to over-shoot the mark,---only to repress, never to transfer and diffuse power.

Amidst the alarms that may, at particular times, arise from the really awful authority of the Crown, let it, on the one hand, be remembered, that even the power of the Tudors was opposed and subdued,---and on the other, let it be looked upon as a fundamental maxim, that, whenever the prospect of personal power and independence on the governing authority, shall offer to the view of the Members of the Legislature, or in general of those men to whom the people must trust, even hope itself is destroyed. The Hollander, in the midst of a storm, though trusting to the experienced strength of the mounds that protect him, shudders no doubt at the sight of the foaming element that surrounds him; but they\* all gave themselves up for lost, when they thought the worm had got into their dykes. †

(Book 2, Chapters 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24.)

\* --" but *they* !" Who ? No antecedent !

So in the last paragraph of Junius's 35th--" The name of Stuart--their principles are formidable."

--" *their* principles !" . Whose ? No antecedent !

† It is not unworthy of remark, that the success with which the author transcribed these paragraphs of one work into another, encouraged him, some years afterwards, to repeat the experiment. The first eighty-six pages of his " British Empire in Europe," are copied almost *verbatim* from his " Strictures on the Union of England and Scotland."

*Parallel.*

Made wise by the example of all the other nations in the world, by that of Sweden, by those with which our own history supplies us, in the heat of our struggles in the defence of liberty, let us always take heed, only to complete, never to over-reach the end: only to repress, never to transpire and diffuse Power.

Amidst the alarms we may, at times, receive from the indeed awful authority of the Crown, let us, on one hand, remember that we opposed and subdued even the power of the Tudors; and, on the other, lay it down as a fundamental principle, that, whenever the possibility, and with it the views of attaining personal power and independence, shall take place among our Legislators, or the men in general to whom we must trust, even hope itself is destroyed. The Hollander in the midst of a storm, though trusting still to the experienced strength of the mounds that protect him, shudders, no doubt, at the sight of the foaming element that surrounds him; but they all gave themselves up for lost, when they thought the corroding worm had got into their dykes.

(Paragraphs 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, and the last seventeen, excepting five.)

In this selection, I have chiefly confined myself to the nineteenth chapter of the *Essay*; not only to facilitate a comparison with the primary matter and the transcripts, but because (though the "*Parallel between the English and Swedish Governments*," comprises between ninety and a hundred paragraphs) the plagiarisms are so general, as well as artfully wrought, and desultorily arranged, that without a more close and minute scrutiny than the patience of every reader might submit to, they would often perplex, rather than convince; more frequently by their assumed originality, impose upon the unwary, than strike even the more suspicious, as transplanted ideas. Three-fourths (as already observed) of the "*Parallel*" are extracted from the *Essay*; but no parts are so completely exposed as the present. Of the nakedness of the thefts from himself, the author, indeed, seems to have been fully aware. They were committed upon the English manuscript of his great work, in 1771; and though the translation of that work was not published till four years afterwards, he deemed it too

adventurous to include them all in that edition. The whole of the "*Parallel*" may, however, be called—*An extract from the Essay on the English Constitution*. Not only was it copied from the manuscript, at the same time with the paragraph from the same *Essay*, presented to us in the Preface of JUNIUS, but for the same purpose; to usher to the favourable notice of the *English* reader, a prepared *English* edition of a work on the *English Constitution*—by a *foreigner*.

But waving, for the present, these considerations, we here perceive DE LOLME taking advantage of the *Essay*, in the same manner, and to the same extent, that JUNIUS avails himself of the original Letter to the King. In the former example, we find JUNIUS extolling JUNIUS; in the latter, DE LOLME commending DE LOLME. By *similarity of habit*, then, we have two new connections between DE LOLME and JUNIUS. JUNIUS, from a former publication of his own, in which he had clandestinely praised himself, extracts a second composition, and passes it upon his readers as new; DE LOLME purloins from his own *Essay*, almost the whole substance and expression of a subsequent performance, imposes it on the public as a fresh production, and under the cover of initials that are to imply any body but John Lewis De Lolme; introduces "*Mons. de Lolme*" in the character of a writer, whose ideas he, (J.L. D.L. L. L. D. *One of our own countrymen*) is prepared to adopt, and whose language he is proud to quote. If, with these circumstances, we combine the facts of the Preface to the Letters of JUNIUS having, for its conclusion, the last paragraph of the twelfth chapter of the second Book of the *Essay on the English Constitution*, introduced with an eulogy on MONSIEUR de LOLME; and the "*Parallel of the English and Swedish Governments*," by J.L. D.L. L. L. D. presenting to us, for its close, the last paragraph of the nineteenth chapter of the Second Book of the same *Essay*, preceded also by the introduction of the name of MONSIEUR de LOLME; we shall find DE LOLME and JUNIUS too nearly assimilated in their measures, too intimately associated in their objects and interests, to be divisible; to be viewed as two distinct persons. When we read in the Preface to the Letters—

"*To speak in the words of a most ingenious foreigner,*"

Meaning Monsieur DE LOLME; and in the "Parallel,"—  
*"To speak in the words of Mons. de Lolme,"*

Meaning that *most ingenious foreigner*, we see in two phrases, not only one manner, or habit; not only what painters call, the *same pencil*, the *same handling*; but a unity of mind and motive. We are stared in the face by one and the same author.

But still it may be objected to the conclusion here drawn from the analogy of motive and manner, exhibited by the PARALLEL, as deduced from the ESSAY, and the 35th of JUNIUS, as transcribed from the *Pamphlet*, published by Woodgate, that the PARALLEL is positively *known* to have been written by the author of the ESSAY, while the evidence that the *Pamphlet* came from the same pen as JUNIUS's address to the King, however strong, is only presumptive; that to substantiate so impressive a fact, as that of the habit of retailing as new, old ideas and expressions, being common to De Lolme and JUNIUS, it should be shown, by proofs as positive as those against De Lolme, that JUNIUS actually yielded to that practice; that to serve a present occasion, he sometimes resorted to former productions, and gave in a new form, and as original matter, what had already passed the press.

Of the 95th Miscellaneous Letter, signed "*A Whig*," and printed May 1, 1771, all the following paragraphs were copied by JUNIUS, to supply the notes given with the 44th Epistle, in the edition he edited for H. S. Woodfall.

"The necessity of securing the House of Commons against the King's power, so that no interruption might be given, either to the attendance of the Members in parliament, or to the freedom of debate, was the foundation of parliamentary privilege; and we may observe in all the addresses of new-appointed Speakers to the Sovereigns, the utmost privilege they demand is liberty of speech and freedom from arrests. The very word privilege means no more than immunity, or a safeguard to the party who possesses it, and can never be construed into an active power of invading the rights of others."

"When Mr. Wilkes was to be punished, they made no scruple about the privileges of parliament; and although it was as well known as any matter of public record and uninterrupted custom could be, that the members of either house are privileged, except in case of treason, felony, or breach of the peace, they declared, without hesitation, that privilege of parliament did not extend to the case of a sedi-

tions libel; and undoubtedly they would have done the same, if Mr. Wilkes had been prosecuted for any other misdemeanor whatsoever."

"The ministry are of a sudden grown wonderfully careful of privileges, which their predecessors were as ready to invade. The known laws of the land, the rights of the subject, the sanctity of charters, and the reverence due to our magistrates, must all give way, without question or resistance, to a privilege of which no man knows either the origin or the extent. The House of Commons judge of their own privileges without appeal:—they may take offence at the most innocent action, and imprison the person who offends them, during their arbitrary will and pleasure. The party has no remedy:—he cannot appeal from their jurisdiction; and if he questions the privilege, which he is supposed to have violated, it becomes an aggravation of his offence. Surely, Sir, this doctrine is not to be found in Magna Charta. If it be admitted without limitation, I affirm, that there is neither law nor liberty in this kingdom. We are the slaves of the House of Commons, and, through them, we are the slaves of the King and his Ministers."

"The mode in which the House have proceeded against the city magistrates, can neither be reconciled to natural justice, nor even to the common forms of decency.—They begin with shutting their doors against all *strangers*, the usual name by which they describe their constituents. Some of their debates appear in the public papers. The offence, if any, is certainly not a new one. We have the debates as regularly preserved as the Journal of Parliament; nor can there be any honest reason for concealing them. Mr. Onslow, however, thinks it necessary to persecute the press, and the House of Commons is mean enough to take part in his caprices. Lord North, who had so lately rewarded the Rev. Mr. Scot with the best living in the King's gift, for heaping invectives, equally dull and virulent, upon some of the most respectable characters in the kingdom, is now shameless enough to support a motion against the liberty of the press with the whole influence of the Crown."

"That their practice might be every way conformable to their principles, the House proceeded to advise the Crown to publish a proclamation universally acknowledged to be illegal. Mr. Moreton publicly protested against it before it was issued; and Lord Mansfield, though not scrupulous to an extreme,\* speaks of it with horror. It is remarkable enough, that the very men who advised the proclamation, and who hear it arraigned every day both within doors and without, are not daring enough to utter one word in its defence, nor have

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\* To an extreme—for—in the extreme!

they ventured to take the least notice of Mr. Wilkes for discharging the persons apprehended under it."

Here are five paragraphs borrowed by Junius from the *body* of a past publication of his own, and re-presented to the public in the shape of *original notes* to a later composition.\* Obligated to acknowledge the lucubrations of his *chief* auxiliary, *Philo Junius*, (whom it would have been impossible to disguise) he converted necessity into a merit;† but trusting to the oblivion of the article, with which he made so free on this occasion, and the new character and situation given to its matter, was not equally just towards another auxiliary,—*A Whig*.

Had Junius confessed these plagiarisms upon himself, he had avoided an imposition upon the public. Should it be argued, that he was entitled to impose upon the public as *new*, any former writings of his own, my answer would be,—That I am not discussing the question of his *right* so to impose upon the public; but showing that Junius, like De Lolme, *did* so impose upon the public.

To found the conduct of Junius upon his own sense of his right so to act, and not to suppose De Lolme sanctioned by an equal self-conviction of rectitude, would be unjust: and to allow that De Lolme did feel that self-conviction, would be to grant not only *all*, but *more* than I am now contending for; would be to admit, both that De Lolme acted exactly as Junius acted, and upon the same principle.

\* Almost the whole of the *notes* to the "Parallel between the English and Swedish Governments," are, in the like manner, taken from the *body* of the Essay on the English Constitution.

† The fraud was innocent, and I always intended to explain it. (Preface, par. 2.)

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Letter printed in the Morning Chronicle. De Lolme identified with Junius, by two other Publications.*

It has already been remarked, that on the veracity of De Lolme, in what relates to himself, we cannot always implicitly rely.\* The same observation may be applied to JUNIUS. He denied privately to the printer of the *Public Advertiser*, and persuaded that printer to publicly deny for him, that the 61st Miscellaneous Letter, signed A. B. was the production of his pen; a composition every sentence of which declares him too clearly to require his signature. In his eighth note to the same, he says, in excuse for an article he wished to retract,—

The truth is, *there are people about me whom I would wish not to contradict*, and who had rather see Junius in the papers ever so improperly than not at all."

And, in his *Preface*, declares that he is *the sole depository of his own secret*. In the last paragraph of his 100th Miscellaneous Letter, signed Anti-Fox, we read,—

"*I know nothing of JUNIUS.*"

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\* In the first paragraph of the *Advertisement* to the fourth edition of his Essay, he tells us, that the work "*was first published in Holland*;" and speaking of the former political prejudices of the French, he says, "A great change has of late taken place in France, *where this book was first published.*" Again; in the fourth paragraph of the Postscript to the *Advertisement*, we find him saying "With respect to the exact manner of the debates in parliament, mentioned in that chapter [*the last of the work*] I should not be able to say more at present than I was at that time, [*when he wrote the Essay in French*] as I never had an opportunity to hear the debates in either house." But Mr. Walker has assured me, that to his certain knowledge, De Lolme frequently attended the Debates, both of the Lords and of the Commons. And considering how anxious and inquisitive his mind was, on all subjects connected with politics, it is difficult to suppose that he would wholly absent himself from the grand councils of a nation in whose constitutional rights, external relations, and general prosperity, he felt so constant and deep an interest.

And in the first paragraph of the fiftieth of his acknowledged Epistles, find him saying,—

“ *The only letter I ever addressed to the King, was so unkindly received, that I shall never presume to trouble his Majesty in that way again.*”

But the latter assertion was not more true than the first. He had addressed *three* Letters to the King : One, a large portion of which furnished the subject matter of his 35th Epistle given in the *Public Advertiser*, while its remaining paragraphs partly supplied the ideas and expressions of another, printed on the same day in a different Journal.

## ORIGINAL LETTER.

*Published by S. Woodgate.*

*There is something so extremely unfortunate in your Majesty's present situation, and the measures of your Ministers are so obviously wrong, that it would be unpardonable not to advise you, it would be infamous to be silent. (Par. 2.)*

*Surely, Sir, this Wilkes was not an object entitled to the honour of your Majesty's resentment! (Par. 14.)*

*Is not this, Sir, a horrid picture? (Par. 42.)*

*—it only remains to be considered whether your Majesty had not better yield to the entreaties of your people, by a speedy dissolution of the parliament. (Par. 23.)*

*—they are convinced, that it is not to their King, but to his evil counsellors, that they are to lay the heavy charge of having invaded the sacred rights which their ancestors purchased with their best blood; and which will never be wholly resigned till Englishmen shall cease to retain the idea of liberty. (Par. 5.)*

*But the thought is too dreadful; my loyalty will not permit my pen to write, what my soul is shocked but to think of. (Par. 42.)*

*But the necessary distinctions between the King and his Ministers are now banished from their minds. (Par. 27.)*

*Morning Chronicle, Tuesday, December 19, 1769. No. 171.*

“ TO THE KING.

“ SIR,

“ *The infamy of your Ministers becomes every day more and more notorious. Scarce an hour passes without bringing to light some new crime or misdemeanour, of which they have been guilty. No sooner is one of them convicted by his own letter, of encouraging the massacre of your subjects, but another is found to prostitute your royal name in thanks to the perpetrators of the foul deed. This minister is fined for invading the liberty of the press and breaking the laws of his country: that is detected in robbing the exchequer to refund him the money, and punish the people for his crime. A paymaster secretes in his private hands unaccounted millions of public money; a treasurer secures him, by issuing illegal warrants. The same treasurer, and your prime minister, prosecutes a foolish pseudo-patriot [Wilkes] for corruption, and is, in the very midst of this act of public justice, found guilty of the crime, which he arraigns, and proved to be, what the world knew before, the most corrupt of mortals.*

“ *What can be added to this picture, which is sketched by the hand of truth? Your ministers, to fill the highest measure of iniquity, want nothing but to have their arm red with murder, and without the intervention of inferior agents, to be drenched in the blood of the people. This is the point at which they aim; for it is necessary to the security of their crimes. Their heads depend upon the doubtful issue of a civil war. To save themselves, they must risque the stability of your throne. I fear they will prove too successful in their dark and treasonable scheme. If the desires of the people be not soon gratified, by the dissolution of the parliament and the dismissal of the present ministry, they will be driven to despair and madness. Seeing their liberties and properties endangered by the corruption and treachery of those, to whom their authority is delegated, they will be apt to exercise what God and nature have given them, the right of punishing unfaithful servants, and substituting others in their place.*

“ *What will become of your Majesty in this dreadful shock? I tremble to think of the consequences, when the people is\* ranged on one side and your ministry on the other. It is not every one that will distinguish between the master and the servant in such rencounters. Kings, to be sure, are privileged, and may do many deeds unpunished, which would bring certain destruction on the heads of ordinary*

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\* When the people is ranged!



*Letter in the Morning Chronicle.*

mortals. Were I entrusted with the affairs of a society, and were I to manage them by the hand of thieves, robbers, and murderers, I should be considered as little better than my agents. But Kings can do no wrong. That is the maxim by which their actions are to be tried. It would be a very good one, at least, very convenient for back-sliding monarchs, did not the generality of men find it too hard of digestion, and think the mention of it an affront upon their understanding, which can allow it no more applicable to a temporal than to a spiritual prince. The infallibility of the Pope has been long exploded in this island. The minds of men are of a very encroaching nature : no sooner have they overturned the main pillar of church-craft, but they endeavour to unhinge the corner-stone of king-craft. By some fatality, it is with grief I relate ! the people of this land have very little faith in the infallibility of kings.

But though they do not absolutely deify them, yet have they no little reverence for the name ; and it is a sure sign that a prince has lost the brightest jewel in his crown, the affections of his people, when papers freely canvassing his conduct are bought with avidity, and read with pleasure. The very sound of majesty covers a multitude of sins. When that veil begins once to be penetrated by the profane eyes of the vulgar, it is time to steer another course ; *tempus dare vela retrorsum* : the character of the prince is as little sacred as the mysteries of state. Writers will, like Sir Thomas Hales in Charles's days, expose with as much freedom as impunity, the nakedness of the sovereign, and receive the thanks and applauses of the approving people.

Hence a king of England is the most inexcusable, if he remains long unpopular ; because, in spite of all the arts used by the sycophants in power, the voice of the nation soon becomes clear and strong, and drowns the noisy clamours of an interested faction ; and a King, who does not listen to its persuasions, and thus regain its confidence, is unworthy of his crown ; indeed, he is, in the eyes of reason, fallen from his regal dignity ; as the majority, from whom alone he can derive legal authority, pronounce in their hearts the sentence of his deposition.

It is in vain that he pretends to consult their interest by opposing their inclinations, and substituting his own will for their express and declared opinion. In the multitude of counsellors is wisdom and safety. The danger of such a step can be equalled only by its presumption. For what can be a greater mockery of common sense,

*Original Letter.*

*In one word, dissolve the Parliament : so shall you give peace and satisfaction to your complaining subjects ; defeat the ambitious projects of your secret enemies ;—— (Par. ante-penult.)*

*You are not unacquainted, Sir, that the power of that house is not an original but a delegated power :—— (Par. 39.)*

*Those who confer power on others, have a right to recal it, when they find it abused to their prejudice.—— (Par. 39.)*

*Letter in the Morning Chronicle.*

than to make the decrees of millions reversible, by the caprice of a single man? A theocracy alone, can warrant such a controuling power of the people.

*But why do I urge this point? Surely none but your Majesty's and the kingdom's enemies, to whom you will not listen, can advise you to set your face against your people, by refusing to dissolve the Parliament. Neither your Majesty nor your counsellors can be ignorant that you are more ministerial than majesterial in convoking and dissolving these assemblies.* The Kings of England, indeed, by being the chief magistrates, or first servants, of the people, have the best opportunity of knowing the state of their affairs. They have, therefore, from time immemorial, been accustomed to call together the representatives of the nation, in order to receive their advice and direction in every momentous concern; and to dissolve, or allow them to return to their constituents, when there was no farther occasion for their service. From long use, they are supposed to have acquired a kind of prescriptive right to the exercise of this power; and, though sanctified\* by no positive law or constitution, it is apprehended to be an unalienable part of the prerogative.

But it is well worth your observation, that no single atom of the prerogative is necessarily entailed upon the crown. The whole power, however, under that name, was either granted or tolerated by the people for their own good. Therefore, *when any part of it no longer answers that end, they have a right to resume it into their own hands.* They have often stripped their sovereigns of the whole, much more may they strip them of a part.

Will it then be improper for you to consider, whether the people may not, by an obstinate refusal of that point, be tempted to retrench that prerogative? Unreasonable opposition to their just demands has frequently been attended with such consequences. The more tenacious the crown has been of obnoxious power, the more it has lost. The people have seldom stopped short upon gaining the original object of their quarrel: they have sometimes proceeded so far in their reformation, as to leave the crown naked and defenceless.

Who knows but they may, on this occasion, assume the privilege of recalling their members, when they are displeased with their conduct? Now that parliaments are septennial, which is nearly the same as if they were perpetual, this step is necessary, as it seems legal and constitutional. Though there is a law which says that parliaments shall sit for seven years, there is none which ordains that the same

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\* *Sanctified*—for sanctioned!

DE LOLME JUNIUS.

*Original Letter.*

confer power on others, have a right to recal the vote by.  
ver was conferred, when they find it abused to their  
r. 39.)

*Letter in the Morning Chronicle.*

member shall represent this or that place for the same space of time. *All members being deputies or commissioners, their constituents have a right to annul their commission, whenever they please, and to appoint others in their stead.* The constitution cannot surely have placed the public in general upon a worse footing in this respect than private individuals. In my domestic œconomy I am authorized, both by natural and positive law, to discharge an unworthy servant : who will have the effrontery to assert, that the nation is not entitled to a like right ? It has, I own, been little exercised ; and the reason is, that parliaments being originally temporary, and of very short duration, there was no occasion, or indeed possibility, of putting it in practice. But, as no custom, no prescription, can justify illegal acts, as appears by the fate of general warrants, so no disuse can annul the natural charter, the birthright of a nation. The claim of the English to recal deputies, is as valid as if every page of the journals of the lower house bore witness to its continual exercise. Whether they will chuse to revive this long dormant claim at the present juncture, cannot be very problematical, if your Majesty does not prevent it by the dissolution of the parliament. Since they have once adopted the mode of petitioning, they will wait to see what redress it will procure them. Should they be disappointed, they must strike into this path which I have pointed out. Had they done it at first, they would have perhaps discovered more reverence for the constitution, and displayed more wisdom than is observable in their present conduct.

## THE FREEHOLDER:

The original Letter (to use an expression in one of the private notes to Woodfall) was so *embowelled*, by what was extracted for the supply of the 35th, that little of it, comparatively, was left for the materials of the present Epistle. But though new matter was consequently added, we see the original source of the production. The same topics, the same cast of thinking and mode of expression, are presented to us ; and in some instances, the same language. But if the pamphlet published by Woodgate was the common origin of the 35th of JUNIUS, and of the present composition, the present composition, like the 35th of JUNIUS, ought to exhibit some of the peculiarities which characterize the former piece. Accordingly, we find (in paragraph 3)—

“ They will be apt to exercise, what God and nature have given

them, the right of punishing unfaithful servants, and substituting others in their *place*." [places.]

In paragraph 3,

"I tremble to think of the consequences, when the people is [are] ranged on one side, and your ministry on the other."

In the same paragraph,

"Were I to manage them by the *hand* [hands] of thieves, robbers, and murderers, &c."

And, a few lines beneath,

"Did not the generality of men think *the mention of it an affront upon their understanding*, which can allow it no more applicable to a temporal than to a spiritual prince."

In which last sentence, we have "*the mention of it*," for *the naming it*; "*an affront upon*" for *an affront put upon*, or *an affront to*; "*their understanding*," for *their understandings*; and "*can allow it no more applicable to a temporal*," &c. for *can no more allow it to be applicable to a temporal*, &c.

In the sixth paragraph the author says,

"A theocracy alone can warrant such a controuling power of [over] the people."

This letter, then, besides possessing ideas and expressions found in the pamphlet published by Woodgate, contains, like that pamphlet, defects indicative of a foreign author: But the question, *Who was that foreign author?* still remains. If he was De Lolme, and De Lolme was in the constant habit of resorting to his own works for thoughts, or language, or both, we ought to discover in the present production, some samples of that practice, in relation to the "*Essay on the English Constitution*." In the fourth paragraph, the author remarks,—

"That it is a sure sign that a prince has lost the brightest jewel in his crown, the affections of his people, *when papers freely canvassing his conduct are bought with avidity, and read with pleasure*."

And in the *ESSAY* (page 428) De Lolme observes,

"That it is *the right of canvassing without fear the conduct of those who are placed at their head*, which constitutes a free nation."

In the ninth paragraph, the King is told, that the people, not stopping at the acquirement of the original object of their exertions, have sometimes proceeded so far,

"*As to leave the crown naked and defenceless*."

And in the *ESSAY* (p. 156) De Lolme observes,

"That in times of public commotion, the Legislative power is

obliged, by withdrawing from the people the advantage of their social strength, to leave them exposed, bare and defenceless."

But if this letter was written by a foreigner, and that foreigner was De Lolme, and De Lolme Junius, it might happen that this letter should also contain a sample of the above habit, as relating to his compositions produced under that signature. In the tenth paragraph, the author says,

"Now that parliaments are septennial, which is nearly the same as if they were perpetual," &c.

And in the latter paragraph of his dedication, JUNIUS observes, that,

"There is little difference between a seat in parliament for seven years, and a seat for life."

It might also happen, that some word in our language anomalously applied by this author in the present letter, should, even in some one of his more finished compositions, betray the same misconstruction. In the seventh paragraph, we read,

"From long use, they [the Kings of England] are supposed to have acquired a kind of presumptive right to the exercise of this power; [the power of dissolving the parliament] and though sanctified by no positive law, or constitution, it is apprehended to be an unalienable part of the prerogative."

And JUNIUS, in his twenty-third Epistle (par. 4) tells the Duke of Bedford, that,

"His authority, [the authority of a virtuous Duke of Bedford] would either sanctify, or disgrace, the measures of Government."

Here, again, we have a sample the want of which would have afforded no argument against De Lolme's being JUNIUS; but which we cannot combine with the accompanying instance, and the previous analogies, and easily reject the impression, that, "The Letter to the King;" published by *Woodgate*; "The Letter to the King;" printed in the *Morning Chronicle*, and "the Address to the King;" given in the *Public Advertiser*, were from one and the same author. But again;—If these three Epistles were all from the same author, and any one of them bears decisive indications of a foreign origin, we want no proof of the foreign origin of the other two. How, then, shall we resist the complicated evidence of similar indications in each?

To bring together these instances of common sentiments; common idioms, common interests, a similarity of conduct, and

identity of character, in De Lolme and Junius, I have departed a little from chronological order.

The "Parallel between the English and Swedish Governments,"

Was not published till the year 1772: but I am sanctioned in saying, that had it appeared during the production of JUNIUS's Letters, it would, probably, (in the shape of a *note of reference*, a *quotation*, or some other oblique eulogy) have been honoured with a notice in those lucubrations. Reading in the 21st of the Miscellaneous Letters, dated April 1768—

"*The Duke of Portland, as set forth in a case lately published;*"—

In the succeeding paragraph,

"*I shall here quote a reply to THE DUKE OF PORTLAND'S CASE, lately published;*"—

In the 23d of these Epistles—

"*Their letter ought to have been an answer to the several accusations laid against them in a pamphlet, entitled THE DUKE OF PORTLAND'S CASE.*"—

And, again, in the next page of the same Letter,—

"*The ministers affect to be surprised, that the writer of THE DUKE OF PORTLAND'S CASE has taken no notice of his grace's title,*"—

I felt persuaded that,

"*THE DUKE OF PORTLAND'S CASE,*"

Was Junius's own production. A patient search procured this pamphlet. The following is its title page.\*

\* Recollecting that the private note of De Lolme to Mr. Thelluson, afterwards Lord Rendlesham, proves that he had undertaken to advocate his Lordship's patrimonial claims, it seems difficult to avoid the supposition, that he had been *engaged* to maintain the Duke of Portland's disputed rights. At any rate, the idea that De Lolme was actually the author of "*The Duke of Portland's Case,*" is not a little favoured by the fact, that the "*Parallel between the English and Swedish Constitutions,*" was printed by ALMON, the publisher of the present pamphlet.

**THE**  
**CASE**  
**OF HIS GRACE THE**  
**DUKE OF PORTLAND,**  
**RESPECTING**  
**TWO LEASES,**  
**LATELY GRANTED BY**  
**THE LORDS OF THE TREASURY,**  
**TO**  
**SIR JAMES LOWTHER, BART.**  
**WITH**  
**OBSERVATIONS**  
**ON THE MOTION FOR A**  
**REMEDIAL BILL,**  
**FOR QUIETING THE**  
**POSSESSION OF THE SUBJECT.**

---

**London:**

**PRINTED FOR J. ALMON, OPPOSITE BURLINGTON-HOUSE IN**  
**PICCADILLY.**

---

**1768.**

*(Price One Shilling.)*

The first characteristic that attracted my attention in this little work, was that figure, so strikingly common to De Lolme and Junius, the *prosopopeia*; a sample of which I found in the 39th page. It is given in the person of one whom the author calls a *plain blunt man*, and extends through a paragraph of more than thirty lines. Turning to his 23d Miscellaneous Letter, I observed JUNIUS, in defending the *Author* of the above tract, against some ministerial pamphleteers saying—

“I hope that writer will never give them any disturbance in their learned pleadings on this subject. He has, I trust, too much sense to moot in the public papers the legal construction of a clause in a crown grant.”

Considering that this was the very mode in which, in his 43d Letter, JUNIUS (who till his lucubrations were printed collectively by H. S. Woodfall, was any body except PHILO-JUNIUS) supported himself under that signature,\* and that in the present instance, the same JUNIUS was any body but the Author he was advocating, I found another reason for concluding that JUNIUS was himself that very Author. Further to satisfy the reflecting reader, that, “THE DUKE OF PORTLAND’S CASE,” was written by JUNIUS, it will not be superfluous to show, that it contains passages worthy of Junius’s pen. The pamphlet alluded to is a defence of the Duke of Portland’s hereditary right to certain estates intended by ministers to be arrested from his Grace, in favour of Sir James Lowther, by virtue of the old act—“*Nullum tempus occurrit regi.*” After a long and *second prosopopeia*, in the persons of the ministers, in which the Author ascribes to them language as eloquent as self-condemning, he concludes with,—

“Of all the wonders that I ever yet have met with, it is the most astonishing to have heard, in open parliament, a deliberate proposal in cold blood, of raising a revenue from a concerted system of search for confiscations; not for any crimes committed, or any in contemplation; but as the ungracious recompense for all the glorious and immortal virtues of those men, who have heretofore rescued this kingdom from oppression. Plunder the posterity of those heroes, on whom was bestowed the

---

\* “SIR,

“I hope your correspondent JUNIUS is better employed than in answering the criticisms of a newspaper.” (Let. 43, signed Philo-Junius.)

reward of their valour and virtues with unregretted munificence. We have been too liberal. We have rewarded the supporters of liberty, and of the Protestant cause, with too prodigal a hand; we have purchased these baubles at too dear a price. Resume, confiscate, replenish the public coffers with the spoils of patriotism. *Si ærarium ambitione exhauserimus, par scelera replendum erit.*"

To this proof of the capability of the Author of "The Duke of Portland's Case" to write like Junius, may be added the following parallel passages—found in the lucubrations of Junius, and in a work to which Junius himself directs our attention.

"I will not perplex the reader with a question where his labour would be thrown away." (p. 35.)

"I do not mean to perplex you with a tedious argument." Let. 35, par. 18.)

"Let us descend a little farther into particulars." (p. 37.)

"Old Nol is a little tender of descending to particulars." (Let. 14, par. 7.)

"An office no more to be coveted than the clerk of the arraigns to the Old Bailey," (p. 38.) A clerk confounded with an office!

"Have degraded the office of Commander-in-chief to a broker of commissions." (Let. 1 par. 10.) A broker of commissions confounded with an office!

There is an extinctive judgment in the impartial public which no minister can equivocate them out of." (p. 39.)

"There is a fund of good sense in this country, which cannot be deceived." (Let. 16, par. ult.)

But to show that this publication had JUNIUS for its Author, is not to convince the reader, that it was written by DE LOLME: that is, by a *foreigner*. The best proofs of *this* fact will be derived from some of the Author's own words and sentences. In the first paragraph we meet with---

I shall use no ambiguous terms of, *certain noble persons*, or a *certain august assembly*, and all the *shifty* phrases, &c."

The epithet *shifty* would scarcely, we may say, have been coined for this occasion by an *Englishman*. In page 8, the ministers are represented as—

"Daring to contend in the face of their country," and are told, "that it [the proposed amendment of the *Nullum tempus act*] would shake the *fundamentals* of the constitution."

The conversion here of an adjective into a plural substantive,

it will be admitted, is excusable only in a *foreigner*. In page 11, we find—

“Many trimmers were so obsequious as to retire.”

This is said of certain Members of Parliament, who avoided voting on the question of the intended amendment of *nullum tempus*. Whether a British, Irish, or American writer, master of the style exhibited in the concluding paragraph quoted above, would not have been too sensible of the quaintness and meanness of the word *trimmers*, to honor it with a place on this subject, is left to the reader to decide. Of several other exotic indications, I will content myself with selecting only five.

“This refusal of Mr. Chambers to produce the vouchers for the contents of his report, did not at all contribute to lessen the suspicion of the Duke of Portland’s agents, that the facts alleged in the Surveyor’s report might be partially stated, though the Treasury *entertained* it with such implicit deference.\* (p. 19.)

“I have already *spoke* of the Surveyor’s capacity as a lawyer.”† (p. 27.)

“And it will behove the Surveyor, [Surveyor General] for his own sake, to be quick of apprehension, and not to report in favor of any obnoxious party, where the minister *shall aim a confiscation*.”‡ (p. 29.)

“In this deplorable prospect *for* your grace’s affairs,”§ (p. 31.)

“Had their Lordship’s *wrote* on the 18th, &c.”|| (p. 37.)

And in p. 39, we read—

“There is an instinctive judgment in the impartial public, *which no minister can equivocate them out of*.”¶

If the phraseology in these quotations, distinguished by italics, are either English, Irish, or Scotch, I will allow that they were not written by DE LOLME.

But, perhaps, it will be thought, that the confident assertion, that JUNIUS and DE LOLME were one and the same author, to be as confidently received, should be still more powerfully supported. Now, therefore, I request the reader’s attention to another pamphlet, published in 1770, evidently from the pen of JUNIUS, evidently also from the pen of DE LOLME.

\* The Treasury *entertained* the report !

† I *have* already *spoke* !

‡ The minister *aim* a *confiscation* !

§ Prospect *for* his Grace’s *affairs* !

|| *Had* their Lordships *wrote* !

¶ The minister cannot *equivocate* the *public* !

A note to the forty first Letter of JUNIUS closes with a reference to a publication, called "Another Letter to Almon."\*

This "Letter to Almon" after some search, I succeeded in discovering. Its Title Page is as follows.

---

\* The *forty-first* Epistle of JUNIUS is addressed to Lord Mansfield, chiefly on the subjects of the "King against Woodfall," for printing the *thirty-fifth* Letter, and "Lord Grosvenor *versus* the Duke of Cumberland."

ANOTHER  
LETTER  
TO  
MR. ALMON  
IN  
*MATTER OF LIBEL.*

---

*Price Two Shillings and Sixpence.*

~~~~~  
Tros Rutulusque fuit nullo discrimine habeo.  
~~~~~

London :

PRINTED FOR J. ALMON, OPPOSITE BURLINGTON HOUSE,  
PICCADILLY.

---

1770.

The author writes in the character of a COUNTRY GENTLEMAN; and affects to draw the subjects of his animadversion from the Magazines, and London Newspapers, which he is in the habit of regularly receiving. As JUNIUS is sometimes an *Englishman* (as in Miscellaneous Letter 92,) at others a *Scotchman*, (as in Miscellaneous Letter 111,) a *Member of Parliament*, (as in Miscellaneous Letter 88,) a *Military Officer* (as in Miscellaneous Letter 110,) any thing but a *Lawyer* or a *Foreigner*, so DE LOLME (except in his "ESSAY," his "DISSERTATION on the UNION between ENGLAND and SCOTLAND," his "British Empire," and a few acknowledged pamphlets,) is "One of Ourselves."

"One who is not a Doctor of the Sorbonne,"

Any body but

"J. L. De Lolme, Advocate, and Member of the Council of Two Hundred in the Republic of Geneva."

In page 28, this Correspondent of Almon, speaking of Lord Mansfield's artificial reasoning on the subject of the verdict given on Woodfall's Trial, for printing the Letter to the King, observes that---

"The poverty of human language is such, that it does not produce any expression sufficiently demeaning, to give the proper name, or epithet, to so pitiful a degradation of the talent of rationality;" and JUNIUS, in the very epistle which refers to this production, says to the same Judge,—

"Our language has no term of reproach, the mind has no idea of detestation which has not been happily applied to you, and exhausted."

In page 45 of this epistolary philippic, we find,—

"In warm times, like those in London towards the end of Charles the second's reign, or in the present, it is possible that a printer of the wickedest, *falsist*, and most mischievous libels, upon the Prince, and the very frame of our government, whether under the signature of JUNIUS, or any other, might be acquitted:"

And JUNIUS, in a private note to Woodfall, dated January 12, 1770, expresses the same opinion;—

"I believe," he says "you may banish your fears. The information will only be a misdemeanor, and I am advised that no Jury, especially in these times, will find it."

Page 59, on the article we are considering, presents us with—

"It is his duty [the Judge's] to point out to them [the Jury] the

defect of their verdict, whatever it is, and to make them explain themselves, or to send them back for further consideration :"

And JUNIUS, in his preface, which did not appear till 1772, says---

"If he" (meaning the same Judge, and alluding to the same cause) "had known *his duty*, he would have sent the jury back."

In page 76 we read—

"Nobody like myself, merely as *Amicus Curiae*\* (apply the word as you may) will take the trouble, *pro bono publico*, to fling out their thoughts."

And in the 48th Miscellaneous Letter of JUNIUS,—

"I write for the public."

And in his third private Letter to Mr. Wilkes,—

"I do not place the little pleasures of life in competition with the glorious business of *instructing and directing the people*."

In page 77 the author says,

"On which account, I think it my duty, as a citizen at large, and long retreated from the bustle of the bar and the state, to mention whatever, &c. &c."

Here is the ADVOCATE and One of the Council of Two Hundred, confessed. De Lolme had long retreated both from the state and the bar, and, as Junius says of himself,† was, in the strictest sense of the word, a citizen at large. Page 79 gives us the following :—

"The Judges of the King's Bench, when Mr. Wilkes, known by person to all of them, presented himself before them, professed that he was the John Wilkes outlawed, and desired to surrender himself, stared, looked surprized, and at last declared, they could not know nor take notice of him, unless he were brought into court by legal process ;"

And JUNIUS, in his 93d Miscellaneous Letter, says—

"Did not the present chief justice of the King's Bench, and his brethren, refuse to take judicial notice of Mr. Wilkes, when he surrendered himself, in order to the reversal of his outlawry, because he did not come properly authenticated before them, although, I fancy, they had very little doubt in their minds as to the identity of his person ?"

\* *Amicus Curiae*, is the signature of Junius's 57th Miscellaneous Letter.

† I offer you the sincere opinion of a man who, perhaps, has more leisure to make reflections than you have, and who, though he stands clear of all business and intrigue, mixes sufficiently for the purposes [purpose] of intelligence, in the conversation of the world. (Junius to Mr. Wilkes.)

In page 128, the author of this pamphlet says---

"When the paper is not, like a law instrument, drawn in technical legal expressions, nor the devise of property, it wants no comment of lawyers,"

And JUNIUS, in his 68th Letter, published in 1772, observes that---

"When the laws, plain of themselves, are illustrated by facts, we do not want the authority of opinions, however respectable."

And in his *Preface*, which appeared in the same year, remarks again that---

"When law and reason speak plainly, we do not want authority to direct our understandings."

The next instance is adduced to shew, that the ideas of DE LOLME, no less than those of JUNIUS, were the ideas of this correspondent of ALMON; that even when the writers are engaged on different subjects; when their thoughts do not flow from the same spring-head, they are sure to approximate in their course; to meet and mingle in their meanderings. The pamphleteer, speaking of Lord Mansfield, says---(page 129)

"The people would then think that there was an end of the trial by Jury in crown causes, and that though one was ostensibly summoned,\* it would no more answer the true constitutional purpose, than the insignificant parliament of France, answers to the effective parliament of Great Britain."

The Essayist on our Constitution, treating of the comparative powers of sovereigns and senates, observes (page 432)

"That even the kings of France, though their authority is so unquestioned, so universally respected, as well as strongly supported, have felt frequent anxiety from the claims and proceedings of the Parliament of Paris; an Assembly of so much less weight than the English Parliament."

Another unity of mind exhibits itself in the following passages extracted from this epistolary TRACT and the ESSAY. In the first, alluding to the wish of the Americans to tax themselves, The author says, (page 139)---

"The king, with their assemblies, may raise *what* money, levy *what* forces, and use *both* for *what* purposes, shall be agreed on, without the controul of parliament."

---

\* *Summoned!* A trial *summoned!* Assuredly, Almon's Correspondent was not educated in any university of England, Ireland, or Scotland.

DE LOLME, in his *Essay*, (p. 523) expresses the very same sentiment.

"Should the American Colonies have obtained their demands, the time might have come when the crown might have governed England with the supplies of America.

JUNIUS has a peculiar mode of indicating the objects by which men are actuated. Instead of saying, their secret wishes or motives are to obtain such and such advantages; he tells us that they *mean* them. In his sixth note to Woodfall, he says

"I *meant* the cause and the public."

And in his first letter to Mr. Wilkes,

"I *mean* nothing but the cause."

So speaks the Author of a letter to Almon.

"I have long ceased to think they [the leading men of all parties] *mean* any thing but power, places, &c."

So again, DE LOLME, in his *Essay*, (page 471)

"While they only *mean* reformation and improvement, they are in danger of removing, &c. &c.

There are other important particulars in the body of this publication, which will be better noticed when we shall have occasion to recur to it. The Author's mode of taking leave of ALMON, and one or two passages in the *Postscript*, shall be all that at present we will add. The coincidences of *expression* found in the Letters of JUNIUS, and the other works which I pronounce to be his, are so numerous, and borrow from each other so much adventitious strength, that *they alone* would be sufficient to prove, that JUNIUS and DE LOLME were one and the same. The present instance of this *identity of phrase*, consists of the *farewell*, in the production we are now considering, and that in the fifth private note to Woodfall. In the first, we read---

"And so, Mr. Almon, I wish you good night, &c."

And in the latter,---

"And so I wish you good night."

And again to ALMON, after the postscript,---

"And so once more good night."

In this same *Postscript*, page, 173, we find the Author giving for his reasons, why the Judges should not be put above the inspection of their country, that---

"If they can introduce, and establish for law, their own ways of thinking, by solemn judgments from the bench, the most dangerous dicta may, when secure from the revision of the public, become by

*time, respectable and venerable, and be hereafter alleged as precedents and the real established law of the realm."*

Turning to page 463 of DE LOLME'S ESSAY, we read---

"They [those who administer the laws] neglect to execute those laws which they dislike, or deny the benefit of them to the separate straggling individuals who claim them, and in short, introduce practices that are directly derogatory to them. *These practices, in a course of time, become respectable uses,\* and at length obtain the force of Laws.*

In page 147 of the anonymous composition, we meet with—

"There can be no harm in attacking ministers."

And in the postscript, (page 197)

"I have no predilection for state libellers, and abominate those of them, *who do not confine themselves to ministers, and their actions as such, but rake into all the passages of private life.*"

Then in the 32nd Miscellaneous Letter of JUNIUS, we read,

"Reflections on characters merely private, ought, I own, to be discouraged."

And in his *Preface*,

"The indulgence of private malice should be checked and resisted by every legal means; *but a constant examination into the characters and conduct of ministers and magistrates, should be equally promoted and encouraged.*"

Then again, if we return to the postscript of this letter, we find the author (in the last paragraph) saying—

"I bear no personal enmity to any man breathing, and wish only to advert to their public conduct."

In the same paragraph, he confesses his incompetence in the language of the law;—

"The deficiency" says he, "of deep professional learning and practice, *must excuse my want of neatness in legal expression.*"

And JUNIUS, in his *Preface*, says

"I shall not think myself answered, though I should *be convicted of a mistake in terms, or of misapplying the language of the law.*"

Leaving untouched, for the present, the other numerous correspondencies between DE LOLME and JUNIUS, found in a publication which Junius himself recommends, we will next examine another anonymous production.

---

\* *Uses!* It will not escape the reader's recollection that Junius also adopts this expression. "From the *uses* to which one part of the army has been applied," (Let. 35, par. 15.)

## CHAPTER IX.

### *Another Publication identifying De Lolme with Junius.*

FINDING, in a printed catalogue, an article entitled "A Letter to US, from One of Ourselves," I immediately surmised that it was from the pen of De Lolme.\* A careful inspection of its contents convinced me that I had not erred. The ESSAY on the ENGLISH CONSTITUTION, and the EPISTLES signed JUNIUS, are traceable in every page. Its title shows it to have been published by the late G. Kearsley, who, at the time this production appeared, was De Lolme's regular publisher.†

---

\* The Reader, indeed, will be sensible, that no enquirer after Junius, once directed to a *foreigner* known to have been ambitious of imposing upon us his lucubrations as the writings of an *Englishman*, could see the title of the above-named production, and not be reminded of—"I dedicate to you a collection of Letters written by *One of Yourselves*."

† Kearsley's name appears in the first English edition of the ESSAY, printed in 1775: also in the second edition, printed two years later; the very year in which this "Letter to US" was printed.

These facts, viewed with others (already noticed) respecting Almon, as De Lolme's former publisher, will enable us to trace the literary course of the latter, from 1768 to 1777.

"The Duke of Portland's Case."

1768, ALMON.

"Another Letter to Almon."

1770, ALMON.

"Parallel between the English and Swedish Governments."

1772, ALMON.

"Essay on the English Constitution."

1775, KEARSLEY.

Idem, Edit. 2d.

1777, KEARSLEY.

"A Letter to US, from One of Ourselves."

1777, KEARSLEY.

A  
LETTER  
TO US,

FROM  
  
*ONE OF OURSELVES.*

~~~~~  
Ex Majores vestros et Posteror cogitare.  
~~~~~

---

*Price Eighteen Pence.*

London :

PRINTED FOR G. KEARSLEY, IN FLEET STREET.

M,DCCLXXVII.

To attribute to the opportunity any writer had, in 1777, to copy from the *ESSAY* of DE LOLME, and the *LETTERS* of JUNIUS, the cloud of evidence this "Letter to Us" bears, of its being the emanation both of JUNIUS and of DE LOLME, would be, not only to suppose a writer as intimately acquainted with the cast of ideas, and the internal construction, of each of those works, as its own author; but to believe, that he had read and studied them till his mind was saturated with the sentiments and expressions of both; till he had resigned to them the empire of his own thought and judgment, made them the common parents of all his sentiments and reflections; formed, in short, from their united suggestions, a *third* mind, constituted of the *ideas*, and *opinions*, of both; and a *style*, embracing the *phraseology*, and the *language*, of both.

This writer, after lamenting in his opening paragraph, the general disregard with which productions are received, intended for the instruction of the public, remarks, that,—

"The Freedom of the Press was a privilege, *obtained by the people with the greatest difficulty*, and yielded up on the part of the crown with the utmost reluctance."

And in the *ESSAY*, (p. 294,) we read—

"And, indeed, this privilege [the Freedom of the Press] is that which has been *obtained by the English nation with the greatest difficulty*, and latest in point of time, at the expence of the executive power."

In the same paragraph of this Letter, we find the observation that—

"Public papers, in which the public acts of government are publicly examined and freely canvassed, circulate throughout the kingdom, and fall into the hands of all ranks of the people;"

And that—

"*Every individual becomes acquainted how affairs are carried on.*"

And in the *ESSAY*, (page 300,) are told, that—

"The several public papers circulate, or are transcribed into others, in the different country towns, and even find their way into the villages, where every man, down to the labourer, peruses them with a sort of eagerness;"

And that—

"*Every individual thus becomes acquainted with the state of the nation.*"

This "LETTER to US," proceeding on the subject of a free press, says—

"And through its assistance," (as a late writer observes,) "*a whole nation, as it were, holds a council and deliberates.*"

This quotation is from page 306 of the *ESSAY*; and the "late writer," De Lolme—then living!"\* The acknowledgment of a single passage from a work, in a publication containing innumerable plagiarisms from that work, is but the repetition of the very artifice practised in the "*PARALLEL between the English and Swedish Governments,*" where, in a *solitary* instance, and referring to a particular sentence, the writer says,—

"*To speak in the words of Mons. de Lolme,*"

While not less than four-fifths of his production are actually borrowed from the same *Mons. de Lolme*. Secure of proving that this "Letter to US, from One of Ourselves," was written by the author of the *Epistles*, subscribed JUNIUS, I request of the reader's patience, full latitude to convince him, that it was also written by the *Citizen of Geneva*. For this purpose, I shall, for a few minutes, confine myself to those passages of the "LETTER to US," which emanated from the *ESSAY*. The identities extend even to *minutiæ*. Continuing to extol the freedom of the press, the author of the Letter exclaims,—

"A singular advantage this!"

And the *ESSAYIST*, (p. 294,) alluding to the same benefit,—

"A formidable right this!"

And in page 427,

"A most advantageous privilege this!"

Speaking still of the blessings of a *free press*, this LETTER says, that it prevents the people from becoming, *as in other countries, the unhappy instruments of the ambition of a few*. And in the *ESSAY*, (page 333,) we are told, that the public commotions in Rome, *always ended in promoting the power of a few*. We next read in this Letter, that—

"The Freedom of the Press is a *censorial power lodged in the hands of the people.*"

And in the *ESSAY*, page 294, find it observed, that—

"The constitution has *delivered into the hands of the people at large, the exercise of this censorial power.*" [The freedom of the press.]

---

\* With "*One of Ourselves,*" it seems—an author who had *lately written*, and an author *lately deceased*—were convertible terms.

Speaking of the conduct of our ancestors, with respect to the *Stuarts*, the *Letter* says—

“ They made a glorious sacrifice of one of the family, and expelled the rest. They shewed the world, that *nations are not the property of Kings.*”

And in pages 59 and 60. of the *Essay*, we meet with—

“ By the exclusion given to a family hereditarily despotic, it was finally determined ‘ *that nations are not the property of Kings.*’ ”

Alluding to the increased price of the necessaries of life, on account of the national debt, the writer of the *Letter* says—

“ The nation is left, as it were, *naked and defenceless.*”\*

And observing upon the power which the crown, in times of anarchy, is compelled to assume, the author of the *Essay* says, (page 156,) It is obliged

“ *To leave them [the nation] exposed, bare and defenceless.*”

Speaking of the means by which the Scotch engrossed the royal favour, the writer of the *Letter* remarks that—

—“ *it may be matter of curious enquiry.*”

And in allusion to the conquest, DE LOLME observes that—

“ What the Constitution of England would, at this time, have been, had not that event taken place, ‘ *might be matter of curious speculation to enquire.*’ ”

These trivial similitudes alone, would, perhaps, carry with them no very ponderous persuasion; but in combination with the larger and more imposing masses of evidence, serve to shew, that, if the author of this “ *Letter to US*” was any other than the author of the *Essay* on our Constitution, not only did the casual, evanescent ideas of the one, transmigrate to the brain of the other, but the accidental phrases, and the style of the one, had as free and constant a transition to the pen of the other; that the author of this *Letter* must have been possessed by DE LOLME. Sometimes the expression in the *Letter* is not so precisely that of the *Essay*, as is the sentiment.

“ *Our navy,*” says the *Letter*, “ *is held in higher estimation [than*

\* And the Reader will remember, that in the *Letter* printed in the *Morning Chronicle*, the King is told, that the people have sometimes proceeded so far in their reformation, as to leave the crown *naked and defenceless.*

the army] *as being the natural defence of the kingdom ; and less the object of jealousy, as not being able to do us so much mischief.*"

" *In regard to the sea forces, (says the ESSAY, p. 89,) there is in them this very great advantage, that they cannot be turned against the liberty of the nation, at the same time that they are the surest bulwark of the island.*"

The next instance to be adduced, presents us with the figure that forms so distinguished a favourite both with DE LOLME and with JUNIUS—the *prosopopœia*.

" *Let us, for a moment,*" says the author of this LETTER, "*suppose a sensible Man to have lived a number of years within the bounds of a comfortable fortune, which enabled him to be happy and contented ; but that, at last, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his friends, he had laid himself open to seduction, become a dupe at play, and, of course, a beggar in a short time. If this man, thus ruined, had come to one of us, with bitter complaints against those who had stript him of his property, the natural answer we should give him, I imagine, would be this,—*"

And then the writer, replying for the people, makes them condemn their own subjection to the seduction and pillage practised upon them by a dissolute and rapacious ministry. The author of the ESSAY, on a different topic, adopts (in page 488,) the same plan of elucidation.

" *If,*" says he, "*we could for an instant suppose, that the English form of Government, instead of having been the effect of a lucky concurrence of fortunate circumstances, had been established from a settled plan, by a Man who had discovered, before-hand, and by reasoning, all those advantages resulting from it, which we now perceive from experience, and had undertaken to point them out to other Men, capable of judging of what he said to them, the following is, most likely, the manner in which he would have expressed himself.*"

And then the writer, speaking for this Man, gives the reasoning on which he would have acted, in forming such a constitution as that of England. There are other *prosopopœias* in the ESSAY, and a second in this LETTER, closing with another example of, at least, identity of manner. Deploing the ministerial invasion of the constitution, yet deprecating the dangers of open violence, the supposed speaker says,—

" *We shall not be worse off than our neighbours, who neither rich nor respectable, enjoy, however, from the nature of their government, one inestimable blessing,—that of public tranquillity.*"

And speaking of the tumults which generally arise from the pretensions of various leaders, when a free state is disorganized, the author of the *ESSAY* (p. 200) asserts that—

“ The people become slaves, and yet have not what in other countries makes amends for political servitude—tranquillity.”

The next coincidence is more perfect. The sentences in the *ESSAY* are transposed in the *LETTER*; but their identity will not be the less obvious.

“ *The Revolution*,” says the *Letter*, “ which dethroned Charles the First, threw the nation into a general convulsion, because each side had claims, undetermined and unascertained; — whereas the dethronement of James the Second proved a matter of easy operation, and was effected, as it were, by the common course of law : the reason is plain, because, in consequence of the progressive information of the people, the nation was now directed by allowed, authorized, and certain principles; ” And the *ESSAY* (p. 57,) remarks that—“ Instead of a Revolution like that which dethroned Charles the First, which was effected by a great effusion of blood, and threw the state into a general and terrible convulsion, the dethronement of James proved a matter of short and easy operation. In consequence of the progressive information of the people, and the certainty of the principles which now directed the nation, the whole were unanimous.”

Here, the entire sense of each of the two passages is the same: and the sentential members—“ *The revolution which dethroned Charles the First—threw the state [or nation] into a general convulsion—the dethronement of James proved a matter of easy operation,*”—and—“ *in consequence of the progressive information of the people* ” are found in both quotations.

The next sample in corroboration of the fact, that “ *The LETTER to us,* ” and the *ESSAY on the English Constitution,* ” proceeded from the same pen, will be the last of that description, with which I shall trouble the reader.\*

In the *LETTER*, (immediately after what has just been quoted) we find it remarked, that—

“ Were a revolution necessary, there is another circumstance which must ever sweeten the labour with a cheerful hope; and that is, that as revolutions in other countries have almost universally ended where

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\* The words of these corresponding quotations are not precisely the same; but their exact coincidence in meaning will compensate that deficiency.

they began, in *England*, they have ever terminated in the security of the common rights of mankind :”

And in the *Essay*, (p. 325,) it is observed,—

“ That though the public dissensions of other free states have constantly been terminated by settlements in which the interests only of a few were really provided for ; in *England*, we find revolutions always to have been terminated by extensive and accurate provisions for securing the general liberty.”

I have asserted, that the “ Letter to Almon,” published in 1770, (to which JUNIUS refers us, in his forty-first Epistle,) was written by JUNIUS HIMSELF ; and these parallel passages have been produced, to prove, that the LETTER published in 1777, is a production of DE LOLME :—If, then, DE LOLME was JUNIUS, the two Letters, according to a position laid down in the earlier part of this work, ought (though one was produced seven years subsequently to the other) to possess some less or greater similarity of features ; some common characteristics, betraying peculiarities to which the most wary writer is liable, and of which an Author is not always, perhaps, so likely to be sensible, as his readers. Let us compare these Epistles. Two or three examples will be sufficient.

The Correspondent of *Almon*, says, (page 76)—

“ Nobody like myself, merely as AMICUS CURIAE, will take the trouble, *pro bono publico*, to fling out their [his] thoughts.”

By which words, he at once tells us, that he writes *without emolument* ; and brings himself into contact with JUNIUS, by assuming one of the signatures adopted by that writer.\* And the Author of the “ Letter to Us,” addresses us with—

“ And now, my Countrymen ! let me, as ONE OF YOURSELVES, who has neither written for praise nor profit—Let me, I say, entreat you,” &c. &c.

By which language, he not only informs us, that he labours *without any view to lucrative advantage* ; but connects himself with JUNIUS, by appropriating the national appellation applied to himself by that Author, in his “ Dedication to the English Nation :”—

“ I dedicate to you, a collection of Letters written by ONE OF YOURSELVES.”

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\* Vide Let. Mis. 57.

Again, the writer of the *later* publication emphatically declares against being retained either on the ministerial, or the popular side ;—affirming, that the language he uses—

“ *Is not the language of a Partizan :*”

And (page 138) the Author of the *earlier* pamphlet says,—

“ Not a barrister (though formerly bred for one of the Inns of Court) I may, perhaps, here and there, suggest what is more worthy of observation, than the *listed writers of a party.*”

And again (in page 147)

“ *As for the leading men of all parties, I have long ceased to think they mean any thing but power, places, wealth and title.*”

In page 178, this “ Letter to Almon,” presents the writer saying,---

“ I mean to die in the same *mediocrity* and *obscurity* in which I have lived.”

The Author of the---“ Letter to US,” is equally candid. His words are,—

“ My station amongst you, my countrymen, is *humble.*”

Both letters indulge in the most violent censure of Lord Mansfield’s judicial conduct (especially his attempts against the liberty of the press ; ) and as companions to the two *prosopopoeias* in the Letter from, “ *One of Ourselves,*” we have three in the, “ *Epistle to Almon.*”

The second and third are short enough to admit of recital. The author, comparing the severity of the Court of King’s Bench in committing Bingley, because he would not convict himself by answering interrogatories, to the treatment which a non-conformist receives from the catholic priesthood, supposes one of that fraternity to say to him,---

“ You are a heretic ; confess your sins, that I may inflict suitable punishment upon you : if you do not, I will put you to death for not confessing them : I act out of regard to your soul.”

“ This,”

Says the writer,---

“ *Is the language of the sanctimonious inquisitor.*”---

And then introduces the counter *prosopopoeia*, by imagining the legal questioner to say,—

“ I have seized you because you are a defier, a breaker of the law ; submit to avow upon oath your crime, that I may have indisputable

ground for proceeding to some penal sentence against you ; if you do not, I will confine you to a prison for the rest of your days ; it is from a spirit of mercy that I proceed throughout."

These productions, then, it seems, are not without the strongest marks of consanguinity ; those family features, some of which, in a less or greater degree, will attend the progeny of the same mind, and declare their common parentage. But if both Letters were written by the same author, the Letter published in 1777, being evidently written by DE LOLME, that printed in 1770, was also written by DE LOLME. If then the Letter printed in 1770 was written by JUNIUS, that published in 1777, was also written by JUNIUS : that is, they were both written by DE LOLME, and both written by JUNIUS : that is, DE LOLME was JUNIUS.

But, not to take for granted the reader's present conviction, that both these Epistles were the productions of JUNIUS (though I cannot for an instant doubt his thorough persuasion, that both were written by DE LOLME) we will take a short review of both publications, chiefly as they relate to the volumes of JUNIUS, published in 1812, by Mr. George Woodfall :---the last and most perfect edition of the author.

One of these Letters contains *two* samples, and the other *three*, of the favourite figure with foreign writers ; and to which I have so often alluded ; the *prosopopoeia* : and in the first private Letter of JUNIUS to Mr. WILKES, (delivered to him in Prince's Court, Storey's Gate, by a *chairman*, who, as Mr. Wilkes himself has written upon the Letter, said *he brought it from a gentleman whom he saw in Lancaster Court, in the Strand*) no fewer than *four instances* occur of this oratorical and dramatic ornament ;—*three* in the person of Mr. Wilkes, and *one* in the person of Alderman Crosby. In the DEDICATION of JUNIUS, (page 42,) we find a recurrence of the same embellishment, given in his own person, and occupying not less than two pages. In the twenty-third Letter, (addressed to the Duke of Bedford) we meet with one, presented in the collective persons of his Grace's friends, made to deplore the wretched state of the Duke, in respect of the public opinion ;—and which begins with—

" Whither shall this unhappy old man retire ?"

By making a few collateral remarks as we proceed in this comparison, we shall avoid the necessity of going into other numerous particulars. The *prosopopoeia* in this Letter to the Duke, like that of which JUNIUS's address to the King consists, (and several others) is introduced by a *supposition expressed*: as  
 " *Let us consider,*"——" *Let us suppose.*"

The first of the two instances of the same figure, in the pamphlet of 1777, is also ushered in with—

" *Let us for a moment suppose ;*"

And, again, the longest of the *prosopopoeias* in the ESSAY, is brought forward with—

" *If we could for a moment suppose ;*"

And the second of the four *prosopopoeias* in the first private Letter to Mr. Wilkes, is announced with—

" *Let me suppose,*"

In his second private Letter to Mr. Wilkes (written in 1771, and unknown to the public, till printed by Mr. G. Woodfall, in 1812), JUNIUS advises Mr. W. to—

" *Promote a plan for forming constitutional clubs all through the kingdom,*"

And the author of the Letter published in 1777, also recommends—

" *The formation of constitutional clubs, or societies, in all the capital towns of the kingdom.*"

We will compare their language more at large: JUNIUS says to Mr. Wilkes,---

" I do most earnestly wish that you would consider of, and promote a plan for forming constitutional clubs *all through the kingdom*. I am far from condemning the late addresses to the throne. They ought to be incessantly repeated. *The people, by the singular situation of their affairs, ARE COMPELLED TO DO THE DUTY OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.*"

The writer of the " LETTER to Us," says,—

" Let the *Landholders* meet in their respective counties ; and for the *commercial interest*, let a similar plan be adopted *in every trading town throughout the kingdom*. Let them [*the Landholders and Merchants*] prefer a petition to Parliament. If the Commons refuse to comply with the desire of the nation, let them go up to the throne. Should this be attended with the same success, the people at large, taught by this experiment, will know, that IN THEMSELVES ALONE IS PLACED REDRESS."

And the author of the "LETTER to ALMON," has these words, (p. 178.)

"For my own part, being ONE OF THE PEOPLE ;—"

And Junius, in his 59th Letter, says—

"I speak to the people as ONE OF THE PEOPLE."

In comparing the Letter published in 1770 with that printed in 1777, I shewed their authors disclaiming the spirit of party ; ONE is not "the listed writer of a party ;" the OTHER does not use "the language of a partizan." And JUNIUS, in his private Letter to Mr. Wilkes (numbered 70) says—

"If I were only a party man, I should naturally concur in any enterprize."

And in his 48th Miscellaneous Letter—

"The indiscretion of the ministerial advocates would give me as many advantages as even the ministry themselves, if I were a party writer."

The writer of the "Letter to Almon," is careful to tell us, that he is "no barrister ;" and Junius says to Mr. Wilkes—

"Do not suspect I am a lawyer ;"

And again, in his Preface, declares,—

"That he is no lawyer by profession."

Sometimes, amidst all his confidence, pride, and high self-feeling, JUNIUS affects an air of modesty. In his twentieth Letter, he says,—

"Mine, I confess, are humble labours,"

And in his 17th he will apprize the people of their obligations to ministers,—"

"As far as his weak endeavours can reach :"

So the author of the EPISTLE to ALMON, reckons upon the effect of what he writes,—

"As far as his poor words can scatter praise or blame."

The writer of, "To US from One of Ourselves,"

Is equally conscious of his deficiencies : The colouring of the picture he gives us, may be bad, though the characters are in proportion : and, in another place, he is conscious of the NARROW CIRCLE in which his powers are confined. The same author, in allusion to the Stuarts, says,—

"The nation made a glorious sacrifice of one of the family."

And JUNIUS, in his 44th, observes that, the proceedings of the House of Commons (under Cromwell) ended,—

"*In one glorious act of substantial justice.*"

It is a habit of JUNIUS, after laying down his premises, or digressing from his main subject, to rouse, or recall, the attention of his reader, by a certain form of *apostrophe*. The sample of this figure, in the "Letter to Almon," is—

"And now to return to the speech."

In the second private Letter of JUNIUS to Mr. Wilkes, we have,—

"And now to the business."

In his 29th public Letter,—

"Now for fact,"

And in his 55th,—

"Now for the proofs."\*

A solitary instance of so slight a concordance, would not, any more than a single mole on the surface, identify one individual with another, but added to a *cluster*, it augments the collective strength of their evidence, and assumes importance.

JUNIUS, like LUCRETIVS, (an author with whom, as might be shewn, he was very intimately acquainted) is fond of confronting his antagonist; of debating with him personally; of assigning to him specious arguments, for the purpose of their confutation. The premises advanced, are to be true, but in their consequences, not valid against the reasoning by which they are to be met. Therefore, he readily allows what is asserted: and the grant is always made by the words—"Be it so." But this peculiarity is not confined to the Correspondent of the *Public Advertiser*.

The author of the Letter to Almon, says to Lord Mansfield,—

"There are seasons, you will say, of epidemical madness, when a temperate jury cannot be had." "Be it so."

And, in the 34th of JUNIUS, we find,—

"We are told by the highest judicial authority, that Mr. Vaughan's offer to purchase the reversion of a patent in JAMAICA, amounted to a high misdemeanor."—"Be it so."

In his 44th, JUNIUS says,—

"It may now be objected to me, that my arguments prove too much."—"Be it so."

And in his 18th,—

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\* And in the ESSAY (p. 394) we read—"But, to come to the proofs."

" You think, the channel of a pamphlet more respectable, and better suited to the dignity of your cause, than that of a newspaper."

—" *Be it so.*"

Another mark of this writer's *manner*, is—The challenging, ~~the calling out~~, his opponent; daring him to close combat. Thus—in his 15th, we hear him exclaim, (to the Duke of Grafton,)—

" *Come forth, my Lord, for thou art the man.*"

In his 40th, (to Lord North,)—

" *Come forward, thou worthy representative of Lord Bute.*"

In his 71st (Miscellaneous)—ironically—

" *Come forward, Mr. Bradshaw, thou worthy, but much-injured man.*"

In his Letter to the King,—

" *Come forward to your people.*"

And, in his 33d, (to the Duke of Grafton again,)—

" *Come forward, thou virtuous minister, and tell this insulted country, who advised the King to appoint Mr. Luttrell Adjutant-General to the army in Ireland ?*"

And the writer of the " Letter to Almon," addressing himself to Lord Mansfield, says,—

" *Come forth, and answer directly, whether you do, or do not, believe, that the Jury intended to exclude the malice ?*"

These diminutive resemblances might be accompanied with many more, were more necessary, to prove a unity of habit between JUNIUS and the author to whom he refers us in his 41st Letter. If we consider the particulars, as wanting distinction, or weight, we ought to remember, that as they are unimportant in themselves, so are they less likely to have been *intended* imitations ; and, in the present case, derive some cogency from their very insignificance. To pronounce them *trivial*, is to deny that they have been *copied* ; and to view their *numbers*, is to be convinced that they are *not accidental*.

In the " Letter to US," we find the writer negatively describing the character of his present Majesty, by adverting to that of his predecessor :—

" He [George the Second] was neither bigotted to the narrow principles of a *systematic education*, nor did his character owe its sole support to the *credit that was given for a few domestic virtues.*"

And JUNIUS, in his 52d Letter, affirmatively says,—

"A systematic education, with long practice, has made him [George the Third,] a consummate hypocrite."\*

And, in his Preface, asks the King,—

"If it is any answer to his people, to say, that among his domestics, he is good humoured,—to one lady faithful,—to his children indulgent?"

The author of this same LETTER, attributing to the King and his favourite minister, Lord Bute, all the evils of which he complains, tells us, in another part, that—

"The fountain-head became an abundant spring of vice. Gracious pardons were extended to murderers,—the prayers of prostitutes were heard,—private revenge was carried to a mean excess, [alluding to the King versus Wilkes,] and hypocrisy was made a science."

And JUNIUS, in his Preface, charges the King with—

"The detestable endeavour to corrupt the moral principles of the people."

In his 39th Letter, says,—

"The mercy of a chaste and pious prince was extended cheerfully to a wilful murderer, because that murderer was the brother of a common prostitute."

In his 35th, asks his Majesty whether *he is not sensible of the meanness of the cause?* [the struggle between the King and Wilkes.]

And in his 87th (Miscellaneous) says,—

"The favour shown to Lord Sandwich, may suit well enough with the substantial purposes of Carleton-House :—"

But asks,—

"How it can consist with the hypocritical decorum of St. James's?"

Again; the author of the "Letter to US," after noticing the ready accession of the Scotch to the royal favour, says,—

"The door being thus opened to the Northern Banditti, their Leader, [Lord Bute] that curse to England, soon took the Field, *with all Scotland at his heels.*"

And JUNIUS, in his 12th, says to the Duke of Grafton,—

"Without abilities, resolution, or interest, you have done more than Lord Bute, *with all Scotland at his heels.*"

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\* And Junius's 35th, and the Letter in the Morning Chronicle, attribute the King's alleged partiality to the Scotch, to an *original bias in his Majesty's education.*

Speaking of faithless patriots, the "LETTER TO US," says,—

"Too often, the *convert* renounced his errors,—and then was led in triumph, to read his recantation at *St. James's*."

And JUNIUS, in his 59th, has,—

"I wish that a retreat to *St. James's* were not so easy and open, as patriots have found it."

Again, the "LETTER TO US," complains of Lord Mansfield's—

"*Unwarrantable attacks on the liberty of the press.*"

Such are his words. JUNIUS, in the Letter last quoted, asks,—

"*Who attacks the liberty of the press?*"

And, in answer to himself, says,—

"*Lord Mansfield.*"

JUNIUS, immediately after the paragraph in which he refers us to "Another Letter to Almon," says to Lord Mansfield,—

"The doctrine you have delivered in cases of libel, is another powerful evidence of a settled plan to counteract the legal power of Juries, and to draw questions, inseparable from fact, within the arbitrium of the court."

And to this very passage, the "Letter to Us," may be said to refer us, by directly expressing its sense, in complaining of the same Judge's—

"*Invasion of the Constitutional rights of Juries,*"—

And his attempts,—

"*To transfer to the Bench, the judicial privileges of the people.*"

Here, to bring the writer of this Letter still closer to JUNIUS, I must be allowed to recur to a passage, already touched upon, as evidence, that the "Letter to Almon," and this "Letter to Us," were the production of one author.

"And now, my Countrymen,"

Says the writer of the latter production,—

"Let me, as *One of Yourselves*, who has neither written for *FAISE* nor *PROFIT*, entreat you to turn your thoughts to your present situation."

How does JUNIUS open his "Dedication to the English Nation?"—

"I dedicate to you a collection of Letters, written by *One of Yourselves*:"

And in another place, says,—

"This is not the language of vanity. If I am a vain man, my

gratification lies within a narrow circle. I am the sole depository of my own secret."

Of course, he had not

"Written for praise."

And the printer, he tells us, in his *Preface*,—

"Will acquit him of any view to profit."

The writer of this "Letter to Us," like the author to the "Letter to Almon," not only makes known the fact, that he writes without "*any view to profit*," but by the prominence and emphasis of his declaration, betrays the secret pleasure with which he gives publicity to his disinterestedness. Had not JUNIUS equally enjoyed the world's knowledge, that his Letters were not written for profit, would we have reminded us of it in his *Preface*,\* after saying the same thing, in his 44th Letter; after asking Mr. Horne, in his 54th, "If there is no merit in dedicating his life to the information of his fellow creatures?" and saying, in his 64th, that "He is not paid for his labours?"

In his 1st Letter, we find JUNIUS observing, that if the people are obedient to the laws, prosperous in their industry, united at home, and respected abroad, we may reasonably presume, that their affairs are conducted by men of experience, abilities, and virtue:" And in the "Letter to US" we read---

"If a nation neither commands respect abroad, nor enjoys tranquillity at home, it does not require the aid of logic to conclude, that her real interests are betrayed."

In this same "LETTER to Us," we find the author saying---

"The mind not open to what has been already said, must be bigotted to error, and like a religious fanatic, be only more strongly confirmed by being further urged."

And JUNIUS says to the king,---

"You will not accept the uniform experience of your ancestors; and when once a man is determined to believe, the very absurdity of the doctrine confirms him in his faith."

Again, in his first Letter, after describing the folly and wickedness of ministers, JUNIUS adds---

"We are governed by counsels, from which a reasonable man can expect no remedy but poison, no relief but death;"---

And in another part of the same epistle, observes that---

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\* "The printer will readily acquit me of any view to my own profit." (1st paragraph.)

"We are reduced to that state, *which hardly any change can mend.* And in the "Letter to US," we find—"Corruption and Luxury have carried us so far, that we are scarcely within the boundaries of reformation, *within the power of amendment.*"

In the succeeding paragraph, the author tells us, that,—

"*The constitution is the property of the people.*"

And JUNIUS, in his 41st, says---

"*The laws and constitution are the general property of the subject.*"\*

One feature of JUNIUS, as a politician, consists in his importunate solicitude for posterity. In his twelfth Letter, he reminds us that—

"There is a debt due to those who come after us."

In his 20th, he says---

"We owe it to posterity, not to suffer their dearest inheritance to be destroyed."

In his 46th we are apprized that,

"The decision of the Middlesex election, as a *precedent*, is one of the most dangerous that was ever established *against those who are to come after us.*"

And in his Preface, he informs us, that the first object of his pride is, that his writings,—

"Will be found to contain principles worthy to be transmitted to posterity."

The author of the "Letter to US" is equally anxious for posterity.

"The duty we owe posterity," says he, "is of that sacred nature that admits of no abatement." And a little further onward, adds—"From the mouths of how many do we hear this illiberal sentiment come forth?" "The constitution will last our time, and let posterity take care of themselves." "But," adds he, "I would tell such drones in society, that they are committing a robbery on posterity."

In four different and distant passages, then, of JUNIUS, we find the whole substance, and nearly all the language of a connected series of sentences, in a publication containing numerous plagiarisms from the ESSAY ON THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION! If DE LOLME wrote this Letter, and DE LOLME was not JUNIUS, De Lolme, a writer of the most independent spirit and principles;

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\* And in the ESSAY (p. 60) it will be remembered, we are told—"That nations are not the property of Kings."

De Lolme, conscious of his great talents, and proud, beyond all men, of thinking for himself, stooped from his native genius and dignity; resigned his originality; and, for the supply of a pamphlet, availed himself of numerous desultory pilferings from another writer;---a writer whose popularity rendered his plagiarisms doubly dangerous. On the other hand, if JUNIUS, the lofty, the pre-eminent, the scornful JUNIUS, produced this Letter, and Junius was not De Lolme, then ceasing to avail himself of his own mighty powers; quitting the seat where he sat amid his native glory, he descended to clothe himself with borrowed rays; dwindled voluntarily into a secondary orb. If, again, DE LOLME and JUNIUS were two distinct persons, and neither of them wrote this Epistle, the Author, with all the powers of original thinking, and a masterly command of diction (for the interpolated passages are by no means the brightest and most *unique*) not only unnecessarily stooped to the meanest and most flagrant stealth, but, by furnishing from the ESSAY of De LOLME and the LETTERS of JUNIUS, more than one half of a regular and consistent composition, proved the perfect harmony between the thoughts and language of Junius and De Lolme.

To the evidences, last given, of the fact, that the "Letter to Us, from one of Ourselves," was written by JUNIUS, written also by DE LOLME, (and then the "Letter to Almon" was also written by DE LOLME, and by JUNIUS; for both Letters were evidently productions of the same pen) might be added many other proofs of the like nature; but if more such were necessary, others, after *them*, were necessary; for if those already adduced are not demonstrative, no multiple of their number would convince.\*

But does the reader say, that he is still unpersuaded, that DE LOLME wrote the Letters signed JUNIUS? Still I promise to subdue his every doubt. In the next chapter, we will compare with the LETTERS OF JUNIUS, the ESSAY on the ENGLISH CONSTITUTION, and the "HISTORY OF THE FLAGELLANTS," without any reference to the "Epistle to Almon" or that "To Us, from one of Ourselves," except where we are urged upon those articles by some similitudes common to all the productions.

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\* In the language, again, of JUNIUS himself, "Their evidence is as strong as any presumptive evidence can be. It depends upon a combination of facts and reasoning, which requires no confirmation."

## CHAPTER X.

### *General Remarks—Conclusion.*

UPON the same principle, that those who are strangers to the proofs of *the very extraordinary fact*, would find it difficult to conceive, that a foreigner could have attained that mastery in the English language displayed generally, (not universally,) in the LETTERS of JUNIUS, many persons have supposed, that DE LOLME was not the translator of his own ESSAY. Had they, instead of resting their opinion on so fallacious a basis, examined more critically, both the ESSAY and the LETTERS, they would have been convinced, that the first was translated, and the latter were written, by a *foreigner*. Had not De Lolme translated his own ESSAY, we should not have read in page 167 of that Work,—

“ We shall see presently, how the Trial by Jury, peculiar to the English nation, is admirably adapted to the nature of a free state.”\*

In page 171,—

“ A landed income of ten pounds *by the year*,”—

In page 181,---

“ A practice *at all rates* exploded,”—

And in page 468,---

“ Some deserted to the enemy ; others *threw their arms* ;”—

Any more than, had JUNIUS been an *Englishman*, we should have found, amid his general (far from uniform) purity of style,—

“ They declared themselves to be *mere creatures of execution*.” (Let. Mis. 14.)—

“ The treasury, *without hearing*, is suffered to halloo an *informer at your estate*.” (Let. Mis. 23.)

“ But the Letters of your masterly correspondent, Junius, have *drove his Lordship*,”—(Let. Mis. 38.)

“ The whole *culprit* ministry,”—(Let. Mis. 88.)

“ The *triplet* union of *crown, lords, and commons*”—(Let. Mis. 92.)

Or—(in allusion to Mr. Wedderburne)

“ His profession *sets his principles at auction*.” (Let. Mis. 96.)

The evidences that De Lolme translated his own ESSAY

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\* *How admirably the Trial by Jury is adapted*, had been English collocation.

are not less numerous than the proofs in the Letters of JUNIUS, that the writer of those Letters was a *foreigner*. But to proceed to our collation of the Essay with the Letters.

It has been noticed, that DE LOLME, in his Essay, (p. 25,) remarks, that—What the constitution of England would have been at this time, had not the conquest taken place,—

*" Might be matter of curious discussion to enquire :"*

And JUNIUS, in his 35th Letter, says—

*" If an honest man were permitted to approach a King, in what terms he would address himself to his Sovereign, may be matter of curious speculation to consider :"*

And again, in his 14th Miscellaneous Letter,—

*" The growth of arbitrary principles in this country, is a matter of serious consideration to observe."*

DE LOLME, explaining (in page 26 of the above work,) the readiness with which, formerly, the different parts of England took the alarm at royal encroachment, says—

*" From the River Tweed to Portsmouth, from Yarmouth to the Land's-End, all was in motion."*

This geographical antithesis, is one of JUNIUS's distinguished favourites. In his 26th Miscellaneous Letter, speaking of the guttural pomp of the Gazette writer, during the then late war, he says,—

*" He never lost a consonant, from the Elbe to the Weser :"*

To Lord Hillsborough, (Miscellaneous Letter 39,)—

*" I would not cease to pursue you from father to son, if your pedigree extended from Denbigh to St. David's ;"*

And in his 37th (Miscellaneous) tells the same nobleman, that—

*" He does not doubt, the Duke of Grafton would, with all his heart, give to Sir Jeffery Amherst, the fee-simple of every acre in America, from the Mississippi to California."*

It has already been noticed, that the Essay [speaking of the sea-forces] remarks that—

*" They cannot be turned against the liberties of the nation."*

JUNIUS, in his 69th Letter, observes that—

*" A seaman can never be employed but against the enemies of his country."*

And the " Letter to US," we must remember, remarks—

*" That the navy is less an object of jealousy than the army, as not being able to do us so much mischief."*

DE LOLME (p. 100,) states,—

“That an Englishman's rights are to him as an inheritance ; and that he cannot be deprived of them, *but by virtue of a sentence passed according to the laws of the land : and that they are the same as that which expresses the King's title to the Crown.*”

And JUNIUS, in his 35th, says to the King,—

“Though every ministerial artifice may be exerted against Mr. Wilkes, you never can destroy him, *unless he should be imprudent enough to forfeit the protection of those laws, to which you owe your crown.*”

In the ESSAY, (page 155,) we find these words,—

“To accomplish the former point [*the settlement of a disturbed, but free state*] each individual surrenders a share of his property, and sometimes, even of his liberty ;”

And the first Miscellaneous Letter of JUNIUS, opens with—

“The bravest and freest nations, to establish their rights for ever, have sometimes submitted to a temporary surrender of their liberties.”

The ESSAY (in the same page) says, in allusion to the Romans—

“When a nation entrusts the power of the state to a certain number of persons, or to one, it is with a view to two points: *the one, to repel more effectually foreign attacks ; the other, to maintain domestic tranquillity ;*”

And the above Letter of JUNIUS, alluding to the same people, observes, that,—

“At a crisis of public calamity or danger, the prudence of the state placed a confidence in the virtue of some distinguished citizen.” The ESSAY, again (page 421) (speaking of the Romans) tells us that—

“The right enjoyed by the Senate, of suddenly naming a Dictator with a power unrestrained by any law, was a resource of which the Republic could not, perhaps, with safety, have been totally deprived ; and though this expedient was frequently used to destroy the just liberty of the people, yet it was also, very often, the means of preserving the common wealth.”

And the same Letter of JUNIUS proceeds to say,—

“Such was the Roman Dictator ; and while his office was confined to a short period, and only applied as a remedy to the disasters of an unsuccessful war, it was usually attended with the most important advantages.”

In the ESSAY, (p. 157) we read—

*"Let us begin with the most favourable supposition, and imagine a Prince whose intentions are, in every case, thoroughly upright,—"*

And in JUNIUS's 35th,—

*"Let us suppose a gracious, well-intentioned Prince, made sensible at last of the great duty he owes to his people,—"*

In the ESSAY (page 73) that—

*"Though it is a fundamental rule that, THE KING CAN DO NO WRONG, it does not, however, signify that, the King may not do ill, or that every thing he does shall be lawful; but only that he is above the reach of all Courts of law :"*

And JUNIUS, in his Preface, says,—

*"That the sovereign of this country is not amenable to any form of trial, known to the laws, is unquestionable. But exemption from punishment is a singular privilege annexed to the royal character, and no way excludes the possibility of deserving it."*

In another paragraph of the same Preface, he remarks that—

*"The laws of England provide as effectually as any human laws can do, for the protection of the subject."*

And in the ESSAY (p. 97) we find the same observation :—

*"The laws [of England] effectually provide for the safety of the people."*

In page 157, DE LOLME says---

*"In a state where the Ministers of the laws meet with obstacles at every step, even their strongest passions are continually put in motion; and that portion of public authority, deposited with them, to be the instrument of national tranquillity, easily becomes a most formidable weapon."*

And then he proceeds to imagine a king who, though he may mean well to his people, oppresses them, by the power he delegates to bad ministers; and commences with---

*"Let us begin WITH THE MOST FAVOURABLE SUPPOSITION, and imagine a prince whose intentions are thoroughly upright,—"*

And JUNIUS in his first Miscellaneous Letter, says---

*"Without any uncommon depravity of mind, a man so trusted" [meaning either a dictator or a prime minister] "might lose all ideas of public principle or gratitude, and not unreasonably exert himself to perpetuate a power, which he saw his fellow-citizens weak and abject enough to surrender to him. But if a nation had placed all their confidence in a man purely and perfectly bad; if a great and good prince, by some fatal delusion, had made choice of such a man for his first*

minister, and had delegated all his authority to him, what security would that nation have for its freedom?"

And then he proceeds to *imagine* that such a minister has been chosen by such a King; and begins with---

"LET US SUPPOSE HIM arrived at that moment, at which he sees himself within the reach of the great object to which all the artifices of his past life have been directed."

Here we see, both in DE LOLME, and in JUNIUS, that habit of *supposition* already observed upon as common to DE LOLME and the Author of the "Letter to us," and are irresistibly reminded of the words---

"Let us suppose it arrived. Let us suppose a well-intentioned prince,"

In the 35th of JUNIUS; and of---

"Though a prince, let us suppose--"

And

"If we could for an instant suppose"

In pages 238 and 488, of the ESSAY.

Again, in his 35th Letter, JUNIUS says to the King---

"In your Majesty's virtues, we find an unquestionable assurance that, *no illegal violence will be attempted.*"

And in the ESSAY, DE LOLME remarks that---

"In a free nation, the sovereign must be very careful that *military violence do not make the smallest part of his plan.*"

In page 176, we find De Lolme setting forth Junius:

"Laws" says he, "as Junius remarks extremely well,"

And Junius himself in his 46th says, (as Philo-Junius)---

"It was well observed by Junius."

Junius, again, in his Preface, speaks "*in the words of a most ingenious Foreigner;*" near the end of the same Preface, pronounces the

"Essay on the English Constitution" to be "*deep, solid, and ingenious.*"

And, in a supplementary chapter, De Lolme makes the circumstance of Junius's having quoted a *dictum* of Sir William Blackstone, give to that Judge's opinion an additional weight. Here, then, we find in De Lolme and Junius, two instances of commutual recommendation. And it is not unworthy of remark, that the trial of Woodfall, for publishing the Letter to the King, is pointedly alluded to.

In page 209, DE LOLME says---

"There are several men who possess but *small abilities and few estimable qualities*, who are LORDS :"

And JUNIUS, in his second Letter to Mr. Wilkes, tells him that---

"He should be glad to mortify those *contemptible creatures*, who call themselves NOBLEMEN."

In the Essay, (p. 211) we are told, that a torrent, in its course, *loses its force and direction*: And in the Dedication to the LETTERS, we read that---

"They will be found to contain sound principles, when posterity shall no longer understand *the force and direction* of their personal satire. DE LOLME often speaks of the *Tarpeian rock*."

In a Note of the ESSAY, (P. 494) we find the words---

"We shall have no need either of a *Tarpeian rock*, or Council of Ten."

And in the first Miscellaneous Letter of JUNIUS,---

"We have impeachments and gibbets for traitors, though no *Tarpeian rock* :"

Again, alluding to the supposed discovery of the ambitious views of a professed patriot, De Lolme (p. 212) says

"It would be better for him to fall from the *Tarpeian rock*."

And JUNIUS (in his 2d Miscellaneous Letter) observing upon the unconstitutional doctrine, *that a royal proclamation has the force of a law*, tells us---

"That the Man who maintained it, ought to have had the *Tarpeian rock*."\*

In page 214 of the ESSAY, we find the remark,---

"That Cæsar, on his return from Gaul, *marched his army to Rome, and established a military despotism*."

And in the 35th of JUNIUS, the King is reminded, that though the Prætorian bands could awe the Roman populace,

"The distant legions *marched to Rome, and gave away the empire*."

In his first Letter, JUNIUS, in allusion "to a late disposition of the secretary's office," says that,---

"A more prudent and reasonable method of appointing the officers of state, would be *the drawing lots*."

\* DE LOLME'S—"better for him to fall from the *Tarpeian rock*" is English. Whether JUNIUS's *ought to have had the Tarpeian rock*" is also English, I leave those to determine who will not believe that a *foreigner* could write in our language, as JUNIUS wrote. The *Tarpeian rock* is alluded to also, in the Letter preceding the above—"We have impeachments," Junius there says, "though we have no *Tarpeian rock*."

And, in page 256, DE LOLME asserts that,—

"Laws would be wiser, and more likely to procure the advantage of all, if instead of being voted by the multitude, they were made—*by drawing lots*,"

The ESSAY (p. 53) remarks, that—

"That the authority of *all*, with which men are amused, is in reality no more than the authority of a few powerful individuals who divide the republic among themselves; and they (the English) at last rested in the bosom of the *only Constitution which is fit for a great State and a free people*;"

And JUNIUS, in his 59th, says,—

"I can more readily admire the liberal spirit and integrity than the sound judgment, of any man, who prefers a republican form of government, *in this or any other empire of equal extent, to a monarchy so qualified and limited as ours*."

The quotation which JUNIUS, in his *Preface*, gives from the ESSAY, is,—

"The minister has to choose between his duty and his reputation,"

Has already been noticed. The exact words in DE LOLME, (p. 301) are,—

"To choose between his duty, and the surrender of all his former reputation:"

And in his 69th LETTER, we find JUNIUS saying to Lord Camden,—

"You cannot yield the post of honor to Lord Chatham, *without the formal surrender of all your reputation*."\*

In his 51st Miscellaneous Letter, Junius asserts that,—

"Individuals perish by their own imprudence;" and adds, "*FORTUNE has but little share in the events most interesting to Mankind*;"

And DE LOLME (page 306) remarks, that,—

"It is not FORTUNE, it is nature, that has made the essential differences between men."

In the same page, we read---

"The whole difference between the Statesman, and many a man from among whom are called the dregs of the people, *often lies in the rough outside of the latter, a disguise which may fall off on the first opportunity*;"—

And Junius, in his 8th (Miscellaneous) remarks—

"That wit and abilities have as little connection with rich clothes, as they have with great places."

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\* Informed by himself, that in one instance, he adopted the *thoughts and expressions* of "*a most ingenious foreigner*," how can we avoid seeing in this passage, a repetition of the same recourse?

In the first paragraph of Junius's first Epistle, we read, in allusion to English loyalty,—

"And whatever foreigners may imagine,"—

And in the 34th of De Lolme's "Parallel," in reference to the same sentiment,—

"And whatever strangers may think."

But if De Lolme was Junius, and Junius the author of "Another Letter to Almon," and the "Letter to US, from One of Ourselves," for the same reason that we see him repeating in one work the ideas and modes of expression broached in another, we ought to find him, as JUNIUS, as the writer of the Epistles bearing that, and the associated signatures, subject to the same practice; a frequent self-copyist; an egregious mannerist. A series of nearly two hundred compositions, could not come from the pen of such a writer without exhibiting, when collated with themselves, an abundance of those tautologies found in his various works, as compared with each other. Let us apply this rule to JUNIUS. In his first Letter, we read,—

"He (the minister) did it from the *deliberate motion* of his heart."

In his eighth, the Duke of Grafton is told, that he, [Junius] distrusts the author of his Grace's vindication, when he says,—

"He writes from his own *mere motion*."

And in his 41st, he remarks that,—

"It is not difficult to account for the *motions* of a timid, dishonest heart."

In his twelfth, (Miscellaneous,) we read that,—"No illegal or unconstitutional grant, charter, or patent of any kind, can take effect, from the *mere motion* of the sovereign. And in his 42d, the Earl of Hillsborough is told, that a certain promise of Mr. Pitt's "arose from his *own motion*."

In his 27th Letter, we find him saying of the Duke of Bedford,—

"That his charity has *improved upon the proverb*,"

And in his 54th telling Mr. Horne,—

"That he has *improved upon his profession*."

In his 3d, he says to Sir William Draper,

"But it seems, you were a *little tender of coming to particulars*."

And in his 14th,—

"As to public affairs, Old Noll is a *little tender of descending to particulars*."\*

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\* And in "The Duke of Portland's Case," (p. 37) we read—"Let us descend a *little farther into particulars*."

In his 17th (Miscellaneous,) JUNIUS tells the printer,—

“That Mr. Wilkes, by the ministry’s indolence and neglect, in not securing him as an outlaw, had been suffered to *throw the metropolis into a flame.*”

In his 48th, speaking of the Earl of Hillsborough, says, his

“Treatment of the Colonies will *throw them all into a flame.*”

And in his 51st, the Duke of Grafton is told that,—

“The first act of his administration was, to impose that tax upon America which had *thrown the whole continent into a flame.*”

In his 46th private communication with Woodfall, his words are,—

“I have only to desire, that the Dedication and Preface may be correct. *Look to it.*”

In a note to his 39th Letter, we read,---

“When such a man, (an intrepid leader) stands forth, let the nation *look to it.*”

In his 67th he says to the Duke of Grafton,

“I will not mix any thing ominous in my prayers;---but let parliament *look to it.*”

In his 18th Miscellaneous Epistle,---

“Let the thane *look to himself, &c. &c.*”

And in his 24th, in allusion to an expression of Lord Barrington, he says,---

“If he means any thing more, *let him look to his words.*”

In his 57th Letter, he asks the Duke of Grafton, in allusion to Bradshaw, whether his merits with the King or ministry is in,

“The secret correspondence he has so many years carried on with Lord Bute, by the assiduous assistance of his *cream-coloured parasite;*”

In his 67th, speaking of the same individual, he says to the Duke,---

“That *cream-coloured gentleman’s tears*, carry consolation with them.”

In his “Intelligence Extraordinary,”\* we read,---

“This match [the late Duke of Cumberland’s marriage with Mrs. Horton] we are informed, was negotiated by a certain Duke, and his *cream-coloured parasite.*”

And in the succeeding epistle find him saying to Lord Barrington,---

---

\* See note to his 104th Miscellaneous Letter.

"Your cream-coloured Mercury, has over-reached both you and himself."

In his 10th Letter, he says to Mr. Weston,---

"I will not descend to an altercation with your age."

In his 32d,---

"I will not descend to a scurrilous altercation with any man."

And, in his 52d (to Mr. Horne)---

"I cannot descend to an altercation with you in the newspapers."

In his Preface, in support of a charge of irregularity in Lord Mansfield, he says,---

"I am well assured that no lawyer of character in Westminster-hall, will contradict me."

And in his 82d, (Miscellaneous) complaining of the extrajudicial conduct of the same judge, closes his argument with,---

"I am sure there is not a lawyer in England will contradict me."

In his first Letter we read [in allusion to the Duke of Grafton,]---

"It may be said, perhaps, that it is his Grace's province, as surely it is his passion,"---

And in his 2d communication with Mr. Wilkes,---

"Which [a certain article in the resolutions of the bill of rights society] ought to be the basis, as assuredly it will be the only support,"---

In his 35th, he says to the King,---

"But before you subdue *their* hearts, you must gain a noble victory over your own."

And in his first to Mr. Wilkes,---

"To make our passions subservient to you, you must command your own."

In his 3d Letter, his words to Sir William Draper, are---

"I should have hoped that even my name might carry some authority with it."

And in his 96th, (Miscellaneous) he says to the Earl of Suffolk

"These reproaches may fall on those whose name would give some credit to their assertions."

In his 7th, (Miscellaneous) we find "CAUTION" saying to "SULKY," in allusion to the Scotch,---

"How do you intend to provide for all these sweet-blooded children?"

And in his 101st he says---

*"Those sweet-blooded children, the Scotch, even when they bail an Englishman, adhere to their principles."*

In the last paragraph of his 39th Letter, he observes, metaphorically, that---

*"No man regards an eruption upon the surface, when the noble parts are invaded."*

And in a private Epistle to Mr. Wilkes (No. 70) says---

*"Give me a healthy, vigorous constitution, and I shall hardly consult my looking glass, to discover a blemish on my skin."*

In his second communication with the same gentleman, (No. 66) we find a sample, compounded of phrase and manner, to which Junius is peculiarly accustomed. Having finished his exordium, he says---

*"Forgive this levity: and now to the business."*

In his 22d Letter we meet with,---

*"And now for the Doctor."*

In his 29th,---

*"So much for composition. Now for fact."*

In his 55th,---

*"Now for the proofs."*

In his 6th (Miscellaneous)---

*"Now to my purpose."*

And in his 28th,---

*"But now for a curious discovery."*

In his 3d, he gives Sir William Draper credit for having

*"Expressed himself in the warmest language of his passions."*

And in his 68th, tells Lord Mansfield, that his countrymen have an eye to the expence, even

*"In the warmest indulgence of their passions."*

In a note to his 38th we read---

*"Little Mannikin Ellis told the King, that if the business were left to his management, he would engage to do wonders."*

And in his 44th he says that,---

*"Lord Mansfield found himself, by mere accident, in the court of King's Bench; otherwise, he would have done wonders."*

In his 16th, (Miscellaneous) alluding to the Duke of Grafton, he says,---

*"His private character I do not meddle with."*

Soon after, in the same Letter,

*"I have, you see, Sir, not meddled with his private character."*

And in his 32d,---

" *Reflections on characters merely private, ought to be discouraged.*"

In his Second Letter to Mr. Wilkes, we read,---

" *Without plaguing you or myself with a logical argument.*"

And in his address to the King, find him saying to his Majesty,---

" I do not mean to perplex you with a tedious argument."

In his 14th he says,---

" *As to lawyers, their profession is supported by the indiscriminate, defence of right and wrong, and I confess I have not much opinion of their knowledge or integrity.*"

And in his 68th he observes, that---

" *Their indiscriminate defence of right and wrong, contracts the understanding; and, that " The learning of a pleader is generally upon a level with his integrity."*

In his 41st he says to Lord Mansfield,---

" *But I understand your Lordship*"

In his 37th (Miscellaneous) to Lord Hillsborough,---

" *We understand the use of this expedient.*"

Soon afterwards, in allusion to the Duke of Grafton,---

" *We understand his grace.*"

And in the 37th---

" *I should understand his Majesty.*"

In his eleventh Letter we find,---

" *A House of Commons so formed, would involve a contradiction and the grossest confusion of ideas.*"

In his 27th---

" *There is something in it which cannot be conceived without a confusion of ideas.*"

And in his 35th, he tells His Majesty,---

" *That the Irish do not confound the original of a King with the representation of him, from any natural confusion in their ideas.*"

In his 12th he says to the Duke of Grafton,---

" *One would think that you had had sufficient experience of the frailty of nuptial engagements--*"

In his 24th, to Sir William Draper,---

" *I think you might have learnt at the University, that a false conclusion is an error in argument,--*"

In his 40th, to Lord North,---

" *One would think his Majesty's campaigns at Blackheath and Wimbledon might have taught him better.*"

In his 44th, he says of Mr. Horne,---

" *One would think that even his books might have taught him better.*"

In his 57th, says of the King,—

" *A Prince whose piety and self-denial, one would think, might secure him from such a multitude of worldly necessities,—*"

In his 52d (Miscellaneous) we read,—

" *One would think that the first Lord of the Treasury, and the Chancellor, might have been contented with—*"

And in his 45th,—

" *One would think such a question hardly wanted a reply.*"

Were not these evidences of an habitual recurrence to past sentiments, ideas, and expressions, sufficient to exhaust the reader's patience, triple the number might be produced. But while the instances here presented, cannot but satisfy his judgment, that JUNIUS was the constant copyist of himself, as JUNIUS, they will diminish his surprize that the same writer, in different works, and in various characters, should have played the plagiarist on his own Letters; and that, in turn, many arguments, and much of the diction, in those Letters, should have been borrowed from other of his productions.

But if Junius, even in these *minutiæ*, was the habitual copyist of himself, as *Junius*, and Junius and De Lolme were the same writer, it ought to appear, that De Lolme, in the like *minutiæ*, was the frequent echo of himself, as *De Lolme*.

In page 11 of the *Essay*, we read—

" *And though their tenure was at first only precarious,*"

And in page 359,---

" *Which was in the beginning grounded on a most precarious tenure.*"

In page 21,—

" *Besides, freely to expatiate on objects, of which their hearts were full,*"—

And page 37,---

" *That of giving vent to the anguish with which their hearts were full.*"

In page 25,—

" *It might be matter of curious discussion to enquire,*"—

And page 474,---

" *It may afford matter for exact reasoning.*"

In page 27,—

" *Who claimed a share in that security with sword in hand,*"

And page 42,---

" Henry mounting the throne *with sword in hand.*"

In page 156,—

" In regard to the maintenance of domestic tranquillity, every individual must, exclusive [exclusively] of *new renunciations of his natural liberty*, moreover surrender a part of his personal security,"

And page 168,—

" We must pay a price for the advantage of living in society, not only by *relinquishing some share of our natural liberty*, but even also by resigning a part of our personal security."

In page 378,—

" *The very lowest of subjects will obtain such redress, if he has but spirit enough to stand forth, and appeal to the laws of his country. Most extraordinary circumstances these!*"

And page 427,—

" *A most advantageous privilege this! which, affording to every Man a [the] means of laying his complaints before the public, procures him almost a certainty of redress.*"

In a note to that paragraph of the 19th chapter of the ESSAY, with which DE LOLME concludes his " PARALLEL BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND SWEDISH CONSTITUTIONS," he says

" *New forms may prove destructive of the real substance of a Government, may be unwarily adopted, in the same manner as the superstitious notions and practices described in my work, entitled ' MEMORIALS OF HUMAN SUPERSTITION; ' may be introduced into a religion, so as to entirely subvert the true spirit of it.*"

This note in the ESSAY, (page 512) presents us with a specimen of the practice resorted to in the " PARALLEL" itself; *self-support*; DE LOLME setting forth DE LOLME. Is JUNIUS equally self-complacent? Does JUNIUS uphold JUNIUS? Not to notice his papers subscribed PHILO-JUNIUS, let us look at one or two of his Miscellaneous compositions.

In Number 64 of *these*, (written under the signature X. X.) we find this very JUNIUS saying—

" It is not the first time that the silence and moderation of JUNIUS have been mistaken for submission, nor is this [meaning a writer calling himself MODESTUS,] the first blockhead who has plumed himself upon an imaginary triumph over the favourite of the people."

In his hundred and first (signing himself A. B.) he says—

" JUNIUS, I see, has got LORD MANSFIELD on the hip, and fairly driven the Scotch out of their discretion, and almost out of their senses."

And in the hundred and third, signing himself ANTI-BELIAL, he compares Lord Mansfield to HECTOR, and himself to ACHILLES; and wishes—

“*The friends of the cause would leave the Judge entirely to his care.*”

In DE LOLME and JUNIUS, then, we find, not only as far as regards self-commendation, two individuals of the same propensities and practices; *two objects of the like form and tint*; but, in the circumstance of each supporting the other, two mirrors, agreeing by their reciprocal reflections.

In DE LOLME’S “MEMORIALS OF HUMAN SUPERSTITION,” also entitled, “THE HISTORY OF THE FLAGELLANTS,” we find an ample notice of the Jesuit JUNIPERUS; whom the author sarcastically calls *the good little brother*. The manners, habits, and principles of the JESUITS, form the prominent topics of this satirical work; and every reader of JUNIUS knows, how constantly that writer sarcastically refers to “THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.” The sect, with their founder, LOYOLA, and their patron and pride, MALAGRIDA, as have already been shown, are incessantly present to him; and the name of *Juniper*, or *Juniperus*, (*the good little brother*) furnishes the signature to his hundred and fourth Miscellaneous Letter. While those who are in the habit of observing the minuter impulsions, or *stimuli* of the mind, will see in this adoption of the nomen *Juniper*, the *improbable selection* of an *English* politician, addressing himself to the *English* public, they will perceive the *natural choice* of a *foreign* writer, both familiarly acquainted with the order and character of the Jesuits, and by obligation, ruminating daily on their history, and the most distinguished of their fraternity. Such a Foreigner, for the same reason that he cannot divest his mind of the names of *Loyola*, and *Malagrida*, will hardly avoid that of *Juniperus*.

The same secret instinct, or unconscious bias, seems to have determined the adoption of the name of *Middleton*, in his private correspondence with Woodfall: he was then consulting Dr. Middleton’s *Dissertation on the Roman Senate*,\* as also the “Letter from Rome,” by the same author, whose name occurs three times in the “History of the Flagellants.” See pages 87, 318, and 381 of the octavo edition.

About the middle of the *last century*, when the low, barbarous

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\* See note, page 277 of the ESSAY.

practice of prize-fighting, was even more encouraged than it has been by the *vulgar high of the present*, a man named BUCKHORSE, afforded improving exercises to gentlemen pugilists, by allowing those *refined non-professors*, for six-pence each, to ply his person with their fists, while he stood quietly before them with folded arms. DE LOLME, in the octavo edition of the above work, (page 385) alluding to the flagellations to which certain penitents voluntarily submitted, says,—

“ They were not more surprizing than the prowess of the *illustrious BUCKHORSE* :”

And JUNIUS, in his 38th Miscellaneous Letter, tells Lord Hillsborough,---

“ That his Lordship's great abilities being brought into employment to correct the blunders of Mr. Pitt's administration, put him in mind of a project which BUCKHORSE once entertained, of obliging the world with a correct edition of the classics.”

JUNIUS, again, in his 66th Miscellaneous Letter, in allusion to the rescue of GENERAL GANSEL, asks—

“ *Whether CAPTAIN GARTE did not leave the command of his guard to a person who had as little right to take it, as BUCKHORSE?*”

And DE LOLME, (page 410, of the same edition of his FLAGELLANTS) remarks that

“ There are instances of what the human body can endure, more surprizing than the Chinese bastinadoes, or the boxes of BUCKHORSE,”

But to return to the ESSAY.—In page 315, an instance occurs of a manner peculiar to DE LOLME. His words are,—

“ *Without entering here into the discussion of a doctrine which would lead us to enquire into the first principles of Civil Government, I shall only observe, &c.*”

And JUNIUS, in his second private communication with Mr. Wilkes, says,—

“ *Without plaguing you or myself with a logical argument upon a speculative question, I willingly appeal, &c.*”

JUNIUS, again, in his first letter, says of Lord Weymouth, that,---

“ He had animated the civil magistrate beyond the tone of civil authority, and had directed the operations of the army to *more than military execution.*”

And in page 345, of the ESSAY on our Constitution, DE LOLME tells us, that,—

"The Roman Consuls sported with rights which they ought to have respected—*by the more than military exercise of their functions.*"

By a note in page 426, of the *ESSAY*, we are informed that, *in the year 1768, the author was at BERGAMO.* The first of the Epistles exclusively called the "*LETTERS OF JUNIUS*, did not appear till January the 21st, 1769 : and of the *Miscellaneous LETTERS OF JUNIUS*, published in 1768, not one was printed between *May the 19th*, and *July the 1st*, presenting a vacation of exactly *six weeks* ; fully sufficient for a passage to and from Bergamo, and some sojournment there.\* And it ought not to pass without remark, that, from April 28, 1767, to May 12, 1772, a *period of more than five years*, no such interval again occurs, and only one of half that length.

In the *ESSAY*, (page 462) descanting upon the attempt made by Charles the 1st to seize the five members, the author says,—

"The parliament from that fact, took a pretence *to make military preparations in their turn.*"

And Junius, in his ninth, advises the Duke of Grafton not to encourage *appeals to heaven* : and adds,---

"My Lord, the pious prince from whom you are supposed to descend (meaning *Charles the first*) made such frequent use of them, that, at last, the people found it necessary to *appeal to heaven in their turn.*"

JUNIUS, in his 35th, tells the King, "that the title that was gained by one revolution, may be lost by another ;" that is, what has already happened, may happen again : and in his *Preface*, in allusion to the recurrence of the same kind of regal infiction, observes that---

"*Lawyers tell us that what has been once done may lawfully be done again.*"

So in the *Flagellants*, p. 8, those who have suffered from infidelity, or the insolence of satire, are reminded, that such criminalities have often come under the discipline of the lash ; and are taught to take comfort from the reflection, that, "what has already happened may happen again." But a smaller feature of similitude must not be overlooked : We have just noticed that JUNIUS has the phrase---"*Lawyers often tell us :*"

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\* Of De Lolme's slight regard for truth, the reader has, however, been too fully apprised to be in danger of giving too much weight to this reported visit to Bergamo.

so on a different occasion, the author of the *Flagellants* says (page 144)---

" *Politicians inform us.*"

And, again, on another occasion, (page 324---

" *Physicians and Anatomists inform us.*"

And JUNIUS, again on more than one occasion, has---

" *Politicians inform us.*"

And in the *Essay* (p. 582), we meet with---

" *Authors tell us.*"

Minute as are these latter resemblances, we are left to wonder that a writer of the sagacity and wariness of De Lolme, should have committed to paper, so many even of this kind as are here collected. Much more will the reader be surprised, when assured that I have omitted a greater number than I have produced : greater still will be his astonishment at such numerous *lapses mentis*, if he consider, that this author was as perfectly master of more *styles* than one, as are many *amanuenses*, of more *hands* than one. The language of the "*Parallel between the English and Swedish Governments,*" (*published in 1772*) of the "*Essay on the English Constitution,*" (*first published (in English) in 1775*) of the "*History of the Flagellants,*" (*first published without a date*) and that of the *Dissertation* prefixed to a new edition of De Foe's "*History of the Union between England and Scotland,*" (*published in 1786*) and of his "*British Empire in Europe*" (*published in 1707*), is uniform in its general character, and identified by its idioms : but the Letters of JUNIUS, properly so called, and those entitled *miscellaneous*, exhibit almost as many different manners as signatures.

The author of the "*LETTER TO ALMON,*" (to which we are referred by JUNIUS) makes it, in his last paragraph, one article of his apology for his style, *that it is disguised*. The cast of the *notes* of the "*Essay,*" is not that of the main body of the work : and in the *Preface* to his "*History of the FLAGELLANTS,*" De Lolme expressly tells us, that he has written the history itself in *one style*, and the annotations in *another*. His own words are,---

" In the text of this work I have expressed myself in that style and manner, in which it was not unlikely a *Doctor of the Sorbonne*, and a *Dean of the Church of Sens*, might have written : in the commentary, I have followed my own inclination. Conformably to that

which is often practised on the stage, where the same player fills two different parts at the same time, by speedily altering his dress, I have in the present work acted in two different capacities."

Here we have the full confession of such powers as were necessary to the author of the *LETTERS* of JUNIUS; of a writer whose compositions *produced in his real character*, were never to betray him as the author of those issued in his *fictitious appearance*.

These overwhelming evidences, that the *LETTERS* bearing the signature of JUNIUS were written by DE LOLME, I shall close with the notice of a circumstance that, *alone*, would be sufficient to substantiate the *extraordinary fact*. It is---That though JUNIUS's Dedication and Preface, containing two acknowledged quotations from the translated *ESSAY* on the English Constitution, were sent in manuscript to the late Mr. Henry Sampson Woodfall as early as November 1771, the *Essay* was not published in *English* till the year 1775. Did the words of the paragraph given in the Preface of JUNIUS, however faithful to the sense of the original, differ from those in DE LOLME's English edition, and the style of the paragraph vary from the general style of the work, little difficulty would accrue, because the *Essay* was published in *French* at the time JUNIUS wrote, and he might have translated the passage with which he concludes his Preface. But the paragraph, as sent by JUNIUS to Woodfall in 1771, and as first published by DE LOLME, in 1775, is *verbally* the same, syllable for syllable, and in style, perfectly correspondent with the rest of the *ESSAY*.

Now it scarcely need be observed, that were twenty *French* scholars to translate a passage equal in length to that paragraph, however closely they might all adhere to the *meaning* of the original, no two versions of the twenty would coincide *literally*,---expression for expression. By consequence, if DE LOLME was not JUNIUS, either partial translations from his work were, in 1771, before the public, (of which no evidences, no traces, can any where be found,) or DE LOLME furnished JUNIUS with the passage from his manuscript, (and then JUNIUS was not the *sole depositary of his own secret*, but shared it with a *foreigner*,) or, DE LOLME, seeing the paragraph so ably translated by JUNIUS, engrafted it on his own version. But neither of these hypotheses are admissible. For:---If

partial translations of the *Essay* existed in print when JUNIUS wrote his *Preface*, and JUNIUS copied the paragraph, they existed as what they *were*; portions of the *Essay* on the *ENGLISH CONSTITUTION*; because JUNIUS quotes the passage as a part of that work. These portions, therefore, forced into notice by the high encomiums of JUNIUS, would have attained a notoriety, that must have ensured them a place in the literary memorials of the times. But after the most sedulous research, no such notices are to be met with; no such portions of the *English Essay* are discoverable, are any where to be heard of.\* If DE LOLME supplied JUNIUS with this paragraph from his manuscript translation, not only did JUNIUS submit himself to the honor and the discretion of another, but incurred the danger of the discovery of such imprudence, and of developing the imposition practised upon the public by his declaration, that he was *the sole possessor of his own secret*. And for what object was JUNIUS so completely to commit his reputation? or, at the least, to incur the hazard of being betrayed? A "man of rank and fortune," not so zealous a friend to this "most ingenious foreigner," as to be induced to advance a few score pounds, to put forth the translation of the work of his friend, (a work elucidatory and commendatory, of the constitution which that *man of rank and fortune* admired to enthusiasm) lent the author his character, yielded to him his claim of credit for veracity; stooped to the chance of handing down the name of JUNIUS to posterity, (that posterity of whose praise he was so ambitious) attended with infamy as durable as his literary honours! If JUNIUS himself translated the paragraph, and DE

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\* Had the *English Essay*, or any fragments of it, been at that time extant in print, would not JUNIUS have referred his readers to the pages containing the two passages quoted in his *Preface*? In directing our attention to his quotation from "Another Letter to Almon," he is attentive to this necessary particular. The paragraph from that work is followed by "*Vide Another Letter to Almon*," (p. 189.) Why, then, we may ask, was not JUNIUS equally accommodating, when he quoted from the *Essay*? The reason is obvious. He could not do so. The same cause operated to the same effect in the "Parallel between the English and Swedish Governments." Not to the page of one of all the numerous paragraphs transcribed from the *Essay*, is the reader directed. J.L. D.L. LL.D. like JUNIUS, contents himself with baldly copying the words of his admired author, and leaving to his readers the pleasure of searching for the original text.

LOLME adopted it, De Lolme did so, either from respect to the writer who had in so marked, so conspicuous a manner, extolled and recommended his work, or because the passage was given in a style superior to his own. But the gratitude that would have dictated so delicate a compliment to JUNIUS, would have urged the public avowal of his own obligation to so distinguished, so *unsought*, a liberality : especially would an author have done this, who is proud to tell us,—

“ That his production has been noticed in the *highest places*.”

(Meaning the two houses of Parliament) and that,—

“ Dean Tucker has quoted it as an authority.”

If, again, DE LOLME transcribed the passage from JUNIUS not from a motive of grateful politeness, but purely on account of his own inability to execute it equally well, all the other parts of his translation would have been palpably inferior, and the paragraph of JUNIUS, a reproach to the general style ; a patch of satin on DE LOLME's linsey-woolsey. But not only are the other portions as successfully performed ; as faithfully, as forcibly, and as elegantly expressed, as the paragraph presented to us by JUNIUS ; but many of the passages are even superior. Therefore, to conceive that DE LOLME had any necessity to copy JUNIUS's English, is to oppose the shadowy imbecility of an unfounded supposition, to the solid force of an obdurate fact ;—a fact that forbids that supposition. Should it be asked, how I am certain, that the *first* English Version of the ESSAY was published in 1775 ? I should answer, that not only have I found at the British Museum an impression of that edition, but have had an opportunity of seeing, in the account-book of the late Mr. Thomas Spilsbury, the charge to De Lolme, for printing it, as well as that for printing the *second* edition, published in the year 1777 :\* and with respect to the “ PARALLEL between the English and Swedish Governments, though it is little else than a copious extract from the translated ESSAY, it does not contain the paragraph given by Junius, nor did the “ Parallel” appear, till after that paragraph was in the hands of the printer of the *Public Advertiser*.

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\* The ledger containing these charges is now in the possession of the late Printer's only surviving son, Mr. C. Spilsbury.

What, then, is the sum of the arguments *for*, and *against*, the position, that De Lolme was the author of the **LETTERS** signed JUNIUS ?

*Against* this position, we have the solitary unsanctioned assertion, of *the impossibility that a foreigner should acquire the requisite proficiency in the English language* : An assertion opposed by De Lolme's own translation of his "Essay on the English Constitution," three additional chapters of which were never written but in *English* ;\* his---

"Parallel between the *English* and Swedish Governments; written in *English* ; his Prefatory Introduction to a new edition of De Foe's History of the Union of Scotland with England," written in *English*.

His "British Empire in Europe," written in *English* ; "Observations on the National Embarrassments;" written in *English* ; his "Thoughts on the Window Tax;" written in *English* ; his "Thoughts on the Shop Tax, and the Impost upon Hawkers and Pedlars," written in *English* ; and a very ingenious paper on the question, "Whether the Impeachment of Mr. Hastings abated by a dissolution of Parliament;" written in *English*, and seen by Dr. Coote in a public Journal.

For this position, we have the private communications of JUNIUS with Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Henry Sampson Woodfall; developing numerous particulars reconcilable only with the fact, that De Lolme was JUNIUS ; *fac similies* showing, that all the seals used by JUNIUS were foreign ; *autographs* betraying the hand and habits of a lawyer, also of a foreigner ; the author's private confession, that he did not write without a view to his own profit and advantage ; and our conviction, that De Lolme was the only foreigner, the only writer, who could be honoured or advantaged by the compositions signed JUNIUS. We find all the leading principles, and in many instances, the very language of the **ESSAY** on our **CONSTITUTION** transfused into those philippics.

We have a manuscript of De Lolme's resembling in many particulars, and in its general air, the hand-writing of JUNIUS ; and a proof, that De Lolme, in his epistolary correspondence, was, like JUNIUS, in the habit of using a foreign impress. We discover, in the Letters of JUNIUS, innumerable deviations from the *English* idiom, *English* diction, and *English*

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\* See his Advertisement, p. viii.

grammar ; but the most *decisive proof*, that the author was a *critical French* grammarian. Certain words, and expressions, that have their duplicates in *French*, predominate equally in JUNIUS and De Lolme. De Lolme and JUNIUS are alike familiar with the History of the *Jesuits*, and constantly addicted to sarcastic allusions to that order. The political doctrines of JUNIUS, both *general* and *partial*, were precisely those of De Lolme. JUNIUS, for the propagation of his principles, resorted to the channel of the newspapers ; and we have Dr. Coote's evidence, and De Lolme's own avowal, that he was among the occasional contributors to our Journals ; as also Mr. Ward's evidence of his having actually commenced a newspaper of his own.

We have the evidences of Mr. Planta, Mr. Harris, and Mr. Spilsbury, in proof of De Lolme's high personal feelings ; and trace a correspondent spirit throughout the Letters of Junius. De Lolme's respectable biographer informs us, that he was not a man whose pride would permit his being *easily provided for* ; and Junius declares himself to be *above a common bribe*.\* We learn from Mr. Walker and Mr. Nichols, that De Lolme was concerned with the funds, and well known at *Jonathan's* ; and are informed by numerous passages in Junius's Letters, that he was in the same habit, and equally familiar with that Coffee-house.† We find both Junius and De Lolme capable of contradicting themselves. We find Junius and De Lolme to have been personally acquainted with Lord G. Sackville.

Not only do we see Junius clandestinely transcribing from a previous publication, a certain composition, (his 35th Letter) and palming it upon the public as new ; and De Lolme clandestinely transcribing, from a previous production, a certain composition (his "Parallel") and giving it to the public as new ; but find in each of the four articles, equal symptoms of a foreign author. JUNIUS, in his *Preface*, speaks *in the words of a most ingenious foreigner*, meaning *Monsieur De Lolme* ; and De Lolme, in his "Parallel," speaks *in the words of Mon-*

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\* See 54th Miscellaneous Letter.

† See Let. 29, par. 7 ; Let. Miscel. 13, par. 6 ; Let. Miscel. 21, par. 6 ; Let. Miscel. 29, par. 4 ; Let. Miscel. 30, par. 1 ; Let. Miscel. 33, par. 4 ; Let. Miscel. 45, par. 2 ; Let. Miscel. 50, par. 1 and 2 ; Let. Miscel. 69, par. 3 ; Let. Miscel. 105, par. 1, &c.

*sieur De Lolme*, meaning that *most ingenious foreigner*. We have a pamphlet (Another Letter to Almon) to which we are referred by JUNIUS himself, containing numerous passages found in the Letters of JUNIUS, and in the ESSAY of De Lolme; another pamphlet (A Letter to US, from One of Ourselves) published seven years afterwards, also containing passages, common to the Essay and the Epistles of JUNIUS. In these Pamphlets and the ESSAY, we find the same principles, features, turns of thought, and form of expression; he same practical usages — especially as exhibited in the frequent recurrence of one rhetorical figure,—the *prosopopoeia*. We have demonstrations, that neither De Lolme nor JUNIUS, was a party-man; that both admired to enthusiasm the English Constitution in all its parts; and see both professing to be simply and purely interested in its preservation. We find each of the authors of these pamphlets, no less than De Lolme, in his “Parallel,” and Junius in his Letters, eager to *pronounce* the writer, and anxious to have him *supposed*,—“ONE OF OURSELVES.” Both JUNIUS and De Lolme wrote fictitiously, and both lived in concealment; *both* sought and enjoyed personal obscurity, *both* disregarded money; and lastly—JUNIUS presented to the public a paragraph from the translation of the “Essay on the English Constitution,” three years before that translation was printed;—gave it *word for word*, as De Lolme afterwards presented it: and that paragraph is written exactly in the style in which the whole translation is written; in which all the other avowed English works of De Lolme are written, excepting those in which he professes to *disguise* his style.

Hence it appears impossible, that the most prejudiced and incredulous, should so obdurately shut the eyes of their understandings, as not to see that De Lolme was JUNIUS; not to be convinced that, as he was the only writer in whom all the circumstances here enumerated, could possibly unite, so not only these circumstances could unite in no one except De Lolme, but that they could not have united in DE LOLME, unless DE LOLME, had been the AUTHOR of the EPISTLES subscribed JUNIUS.





